Scandinavian Language Structures

A Comparative Historical Survey

Einar Haugen

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To the Memory of
GEORGE TOBIAS FLOM
My First Mentor in Historical Linguistics

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Preface

The aim of this volume is to provide the student of Scandinavian languages and linguistics with a bird's-eye view of the major structural developments of the standard Scandinavian or Nordic languages. While covering somewhat the same ground as my larger *The Scandinavian Languages* (1976), it is quite differently organized. The former takes up each period in succession from the prehistoric to the present, presenting for each the historical and social background, the sources, the grammar, and the vocabulary. Here, however, we survey each of these linguistic aspects separately and sketch their history chapter by chapter. A concentrated survey provides the external (societal) background in the first chapter, followed by chapters on the phonology of the vowels, the phonology of the consonants, the morphology of the nominal system, the morphology of the verbs, the syntax, and the lexicon. The emphasis is on the internal development of the languages, which permits a somewhat greater attention to purely linguistic phenomena.

The opportunity to prepare this survey was an invitation by Professor Otmar Werner to furnish a volume in the series of structural histories ("Sprachstrukturen"). In its first version it was prepared as 1976 lectures at Uppsala University, where I was Fulbright Lecturer in *Institutionen för nordiska språk* for six months. I am grateful to Professor Werner, who has carefully edited the manuscript and made many excellent suggestions; also to the United States Educational Foundation in Sweden; the American Council of Learned Societies; and to my students and colleagues at Uppsala, particularly Professors Gun Widmark and Lennart Moberg. Readers whose suggestions have been gratefully received are Elmer Antonsen and James Cathey. Final responsibility is of course mine.

The book assumes no previous knowledge of Scandinavian on the part of the reader, only some familiarity with the usual grammatical/linguistic terms. The modified IPA phonetic transcription is presented on p. 214. Anyone who wishes to go more deeply into the subject should turn to my earlier volume, as well as to my bibliography (Haugen 1974) and survey of scholarship (Haugen and Markey 1972). Each of the languages (except Icelan-

dic and Faroese) already has its massive and detailed history, to which the specialist will turn for further enlightenment: Skautrup (1944–1970) for Danish; Wessén (1941–1965) for Swedish; Indrebø (1951), Seip (1955), Vemund Skard (1962–1976) for Norwegian.

I hope that students may find the book helpful, and that readers will call attention to errors and inadvertencies.

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Chapter 1

The Nordic Languages

1.1 Overview

The term 'Scandinavian' is ambiguous, since it is sometimes limited to the languages of the Scandinavian peninsula, but may also be extended to all the languages spoken within the five states that are commonly recognized as Scandinavian: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. We shall here limit it to those properly 'Nordic' languages that are descended from *Germanic* and hence from *Indo-European.* This means that we cannot take up *Finnish,* the major language of Finland, except in passing; nor *Samic* (formerly known as Lappish), spoken by the Sami (or Lapps) living in the far northern parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the Soviet Union. These two languages belong to the *Finno-Ugric* family of languages, which includes the closely related Esthonian, and the more distantly related Hungarian, Samoyed, and other languages, mostly within the Soviet Union.

On the other side of Scandinavia there is *Greenlandic,* a variety of Eskimo, spoken in the Danish colony of Greenland, which is also non-Indo-European. For completeness' sake we should also mention the few speakers of Indo-European who are not Nordic, i.e. the *Gypsies* (many of whom speak *Romany*) and the *Germans* inside the Danish border in Jylland. Today there is also an influx of immigrant labor from other European and even Asiatic countries, who constitute unassimilated minorities, especially in Sweden.

1.1.1 *The Written Languages.* When we speak of 'standard' languages, we usually think of languages like English, French, or German, which have a fairly unified norm of writing that is taught in school and is used in print and writing by public and private writers. These written norms vary within rather narrow limits and are usually regulated by official or private authorities. In their present form such 'languages' are not only arbitrary, but also relatively modern, dating back to the sixteenth century, or later. In Scandinavia today there are six such standardized norms. Going from west to east they are: (1) *Icelandic* in Iceland, (2) *Faroese* in the Faroe Islands, (3) *Nor-*

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wegian (nynorsk) and (4) *Norwegian (bokmål)* in Norway, (5) *Danish* in Denmark, and (6) *Swedish* in Sweden and Finland.

Even this short list immediately raises questions. Why should there be two standards in Norway? Why should there be Swedish in Finland? Why should the Faroe Islands, a possession of Denmark, have its own language? In any case, why should there be so many languages within so small a corner of the world, comprising not much more than twenty million inhabitants?

Alongside the 'standard' languages there are other forms of writing, generally referred to as 'dialectal'. Poetry, folklore, dialogue, even drama make liberal use of local norms, writing them more or less accurately, in an effort to give authenticity to local speakers. Behind and even alongside the standard norms lie centuries of unstandardized written traditions, going back at least to 200 A.D. Beginning with occasional inscriptions in the older runic alphabet, after c. 800 A.D. in the younger one, the volume of written material grows dramatically with the coming of Christianity in the 10th and 11th centuries, which brought with it writing in the Roman alphabet on parchment and eventually paper. While all of these are of the highest importance for our study of the historical development of the language, they tend to be personal and variable in form. They lack the official blessing given to the modern written norms, which were made possible by the invention of printing and are exploited by the modern, centralized states as political instruments, serving to unify communication within a particular state or ethnic group.

1.1.2 *The Spoken Languages.* Speech ist prior to writing both in the lives of individuals and in the history of nations. This crucial fact has often been obscured by the prestige of writing in modern life. The written norms listed above derive their ultimate authenticity from speech, although their conservatism has tended to create a gap between speech and writing that can be troublesome to learners. Any face-to-face social group develops its own norms of speech without conscious planning. The changes that constantly alter the lives of the speakers and the inevitable passing on of speech from one generation to another mean that speech and the language system behind it are also in slow but constant flux. Innovations that arise and are established in one community may be prestigious enough to be accepted by its neighbors and so pass from place to place until they are stopped by some significant barrier to communication.

This constant interplay between differentiation and uniformization within any given speech area leads in the long run to a fragmentation into 'dialects' that reflect the major lines of communication and non-communication.

Scandinavia may be looked on as a single speech continuum, in which each community has its own dialect, sharing many but not all of its features with neighbors. Shared innovations (and retentions) can be drawn on maps and are then known as *isoglosses*. Major dialect areas may be characterized by a listing of those isoglosses that distinguish them from their neighbors, but it is a striking fact that few isoglosses have identical extensions. At best one can speak of *bundles* of isoglosses, which roughly outline the major breaks in communication and create problems in understanding. As we shall see, the *Common Scandinavian* of the early centuries tended to fall into a *western,* "Atlantic" dialect and an *eastern,* "Baltic" dialect. Since the Viking Period, with the settlement of Iceland and the Faroes, an even deeper gulf arose between these *insular* languages and those of the *mainland.* Danish, by its position as a bridge to the European continent moved away in a 'southerly' direction that distanced it from Norwegian and Swedish.

In the development of dialects and languages we can distinguish three major kinds of social influences on communication. Rural dialects that are in contact from one community to the next, but are isolated from the outer world, tend to change less rapidly. We may call them *primary* dialects, developed from older stages of Scandinavian by slow differentiation. Some of them (e.g. those of Dalarna in Sweden, Jylland in Denmark, Setesdal in Norway) are still so different from the standard languages that outsiders find them difficult if not impossible to understand. The rise of village life and eventually of cities with populations drawn from the countryside led to the growth of what we may call *secondary* or urban dialects. These usually retain many traits from the surrounding rural communities, but interaction within the new community has leveled out differences and created new norms, primarily associated with the working classes of the towns. Since cities, especially capitals, were also the centers of secular and religious authorities, as well as the urban upper classes, a new form of isolation arose in the early modern period. These 'upper classes' (whether bourgeois or noble) associated chiefly with one another and created prestigious norms, what we may call *tertiary* or élite dialects.

Since the speakers of élite dialects were the only ones who mastered the forms of writing, it was inevitable that the written forms would reflect their speech more closely than that of any one of the primary or secondary dialects. In return, their familiarity with the more formal language of official documents and written communication influenced their speech. In such class-stratified societies those who wished to rise to power looked up to and tried to imitate the élite dialect, at least in their official roles. At home and for informal purposes they might very well retain a speech that was closer to

their original primary or secondary dialect. At the same time those who practiced the various trades and professions which a more complex society made necessary developed a variety of special styles and jargons. We find within both the secondary and tertiary dialects of Scandinavia (as of other countries) a multitude of variations reflecting the speakers' sex, age, education, and profession, as well as their perception of the formality or informality of the occasion.

The reader should be aware of these factors, even though it will not be possible to present them in detail. In this account we are primarily concerned with developments that led to the structures of the present-day standard languages.

1.2 The Sources

Only in the last two or three generations has it been possible to study the development of language at first hand. Older periods have to be approached indirectly through written sources. Their evidence has been combined with that of related languages and the results of historical and archeological research. We have reason to believe that southern and western Scandinavia has been Indo-European-speaking at least since 2000 B.C. But our first positive evidence is much younger, dating from the period 200–800 A.D. It consists of less than 200 inscriptions in a 24-letter alphabet known as the older runic *futhark* (Figure 1), so called from its first six characters.

The older runes	ᚠᚢᚦ ᚨᚱ<ᚷᚹ: ᚺᚾ|ᛊ ᛃᛈᛉᛦ᛬ᛏᛒᛖᛗᛚᛜᛞᛟ			
	f u þ a r k g w : h n i j ẹ p z s : t b e m l ng d o			

The younger runes	ᚠᚢᚦᚨᚱᚴ	: ᚼᚾᛁᛅ	ᛋ᛬ᛏᛒ ᛘᛚ	ᛦ
	f u þ ą r k	: h n i a	s : t b m l	R
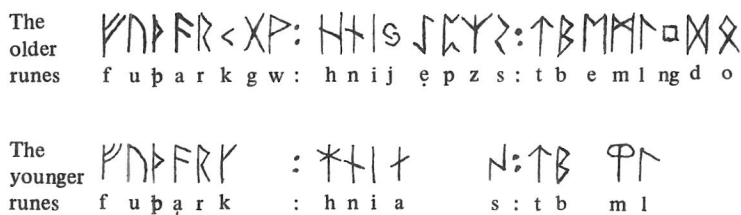
Fig. 1: *The Runes.* The *older* runes are clearly based on classical alphabets, chiefly Latin, with possible influences from North Italic (Etruscan) and Greek. It is not known where or by whom they were invented. One plausible theory (Moltke) proposes the Jylland peninsula. The *younger* runes are simplified in form and number, but have the same order, except that z (transcribed *R*, a kind of *ž*) is moved to the end and inverted. There are several varieties of the younger runes, all showing the same general structure.

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The language of these inscriptions is traditionally known as *urnordisk* or Proto-Scandinavian (PSc). The earliest inscriptions do not show any peculiarly Scand features, so that their language may rather be called North/ West Germanic, to show their undifferentiated character in relation to the late Gmc unity that includes West Gmc. (Coetsem and Kufner 1972; Antonsen 1975).

Characteristically North Germanic or Scandinavian traits do not appear until c. 550 A.D., when we can first distinguish what we shall call *Common Scandinavian* (CSc) from the West Germanic dialects that became Low and High German, Frisian, Dutch, and English as well as the East Germanic that is chiefly known to us through the extinct Gothic.

Beginning c. 800 A.D. the *futhark* is reduced in number from 24 to 16 runes, known as the younger runic alphabet. By this time linguistic differences have begun to appear within the North. Only with the advent of parchment and the Latin alphabet are we able to identify these differences clearly. We enter an *Old Scandinavian* period (1150–1350), in which distinct writing traditions developed in the centers of learning and power. The earliest preserved manuscripts in the vernacular are from c. 1150 in Iceland and Norway and c. 1250 in Denmark and Sweden. In these we can detect evidence of innovations in the spoken language that point forward to the fragmentation of today. While there still are no unified written norms, there are trends toward norms which we call Old Danish, Old Swedish, Old Norwegian, Old Icelandic, and Old Gutnish (on the island of Gotland).

With the introduction of the art of printing, a new kind of normalization became possible and necessary. Uniformity was politically more efficient and could more easily be imposed by the authorities. After a chaotic late medieval period, which we may call *Middle Scandinavian* (MSc) lasting from c. 1350 to c. 1550, printing and the Reformation combined to introduce the period of *Modern Scandinavian* (ModSc). In spite of the official norms of writing, the primary and secondary dialects continued to drift apart (except in Iceland), since communications were poor and few could read. Universal education in the native norms of writing was rare until after 1850. When the local dialects were committed to writing, it was either for humorous or folkloristic purposes. The written languages were instruments of power, concentrated in the hands of the few.

With the spread of education and general literacy, the standard languages have become the indispensable tools of whole nations. They have also acquired symbolic values, identifying their users as members of a national community.

1.3   Methods and Points of View

Languages may be studied as functional entities within a given period of their history, seeing them as loosely or firmly organized structures existing at a given time and place. This *synchronic* view is most typically presented in the average school grammar, in a form sufficiently simplified to be pedagogically useful. But in asking how a language came to be what it is, or trying to explain its often irregular and arbitrary forms, we have to extend our study back into history. This *diachronic* view of language requires that each feature of the structures now existing be traced back as far as our sources and our reconstructive ingenuity permits. If we think of any given synchronic description as a cross-section in time, a single frame in a historical film, then the diachronic or historical study is the bond that ties the cross-sections together, the film itself that moves from one frame to the next.

The longitudinal study of language raises as many questions as it answers. For one thing, the fact that language changes shows that 'structures' are not rigid, but constantly in flux. Some of that flux is apparent in the differences among members of the same community, which we may call *synchronic variation.* We can still refer to language as having structures, but we must recognize that natural languages are never ideally logical, or exhaustively consistent like the formal languages created by logicians and mathematicians. They are subtly responsive to the novel situations and needs of their users, as elastic and adaptable as the human mind itself.

Dialectology is a branch of linguistics that has specialized in the study of dialect variation. By its geographical or *diatopic* study of language variation, it has shown how innovations spread along the routes of communication. In recent years the development of *sociolinguistics* has contributed to our understanding of *diastratic* variation, i.e. the rise and spread of class dialects in stratified societies. The most powerful instrument of historical linguistics stretching back beyond the written sources has been the *comparative* method, which has made it possible to reconstruct a common ancestor, a 'mother tongue', from which a group of related languages may be assumed to have descended. Such hypothetical ancestors are regularly marked with a preceding asterisk, and are then known as 'starred forms'. There will be a good many of them in the following chapters of this book.

None of these techniques are adequate to answer such questions as the ultimate origin of language, or the reasons for change, i. e. why the language of group A differs in specific ways from that of its neighbor group B. We have not yet learned to predict the history of language any more than of humanity itself, whose language is indeed the chief form of behavior that makes it human.

1.4   Germanic

The evident structural similarity between the Scandinavian languages on the one hand and their neighbors German, English, Frisian, and Dutch (including Flemish) on the other, demands a historical (genetic) explanation. The comparative method enables us to go back beyond the sources listed above to establish a common mother tongue known as *Germanic* (Gmc) or *Proto-Germanic* (PGmc). Mere inspection of Old Icelandic (OIc) $h\bar{u}s$, German *Haus,* Dutch *huis,* and English *house* (together with older attested forms of the same word) is enough to tell us that they must come from a Gmc word with initial *h-* and final *-s*. The nature of the vowel is established by such older forms as OHG $h\bar{u}s$ and OE $h\bar{u}s$: it has to be a long $\bar{u}$. But in the runic inscription of the Gallehus horn in Denmark of c. 400 A.D. we find that another neuter noun of the same class has a final *-a* as well: *horna* 'horn'. We may therefore reconstruct a Gmc form for 'house' as *$h\bar{u}sa$. By drawing in other Indo-European (IE) languages, we could expand it still further, but we are not now concerned with that. We take the earliest recorded Gmc as our starting point.

Gmc as a dialect of IE was one of a predominantly western group known as the *centum* languages, including also Italic (ancestor of Latin), Greek, and Celtic, to name a few. These contrasted with a more easterly group known as the *śatem* languages, after the Sanskrit word for 'hundred', and including such groups as the Baltic, Slavic, Albanian, Armenian, Iranian, and Indic. In the latter the *k* of *centum* [kentum] had changed to *ś;* in Gmc it later changed to *h,* giving us *hund-* in *hundred.*

The gradual drifting away of Gmc must in part have taken place on what is today Scandinavian soil. Present-day Denmark, southern Norway and Sweden, together with northern Germany constitute the area of oldest Gmc settlement that we know. From about 1000 B.C. Gmc tribes began expanding at the expense of Celts to the south and west, Balts and Slavs to the east and north. There is no evidence that the Gmc peoples ever constituted a nation. They were distinct tribes, perhaps loosely organized into cultural-religious groupings. Beginning with the first century A.D. they advanced on the Roman Empire and came to the notice of such Latin authors as Tacitus, who wrote his classic *Germania* c. 100 A.D. In these writings tribal names appear which are in one way or another connected with Scandinavia, being preserved in later geographical names: the *Rugii* (Rogaland in Norway), the *Charudes* (Hordaland in Norway), *Suiones* (Svealand in Sweden), *Gautae* (Götaland in Sweden), *Dani* (in Denmark), *Cimbri* (Himmerland in Denmark), *Burgundiones* (Bornholm in Denmark), *Angli* (Angeln in Germany, once Danish).

Just how the Gmc tribes drifted apart and distributed themselves into their later language groups is a complex and much-debated problem. A convenient way to present such language splits is the genealogical tree, though the splits are rarely if ever as sudden as this image suggests. Traditionally the divisions of Gmc are presented as follows:

```
                          *Germanic
         ┌───────────────────┼───────────────────┐
   *West Germanic      *North Germanic      *East Germanic
         │                   │                   │
   English, Frisian,     Scandinavian          Gothic
   Dutch, German         Languages
```
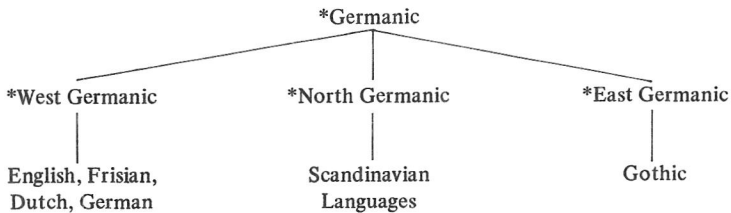
West Gmc has also been called 'South' Gmc (Neckel); it is now common to divide it into such groups as North Sea Gmc, Elbe Gmc, Rhine-Weser Gmc. On the basis of certain common features it has been suggested that North and East Gmc constituted a 'Gotho-Nordic' language (Schwarz). While it may be the case that the Goths had their earliest home in Sweden, they emigrated so early that in general their language developed differently. The West and North Gmc tribes, however, remained to some degree in contact until the Danes entered Jylland from the Danish islands, the Slavic Wends occupied the North German coast, and the Angles and Saxons emigrated to England. These events, which may be dated to the fourth and fifth centuries, isolated the Scandinavians from their neighbors to the south. It may therefore be more realistic to picture the separation of Gmc as follows:

```
                                    *Germanic
                  ┌────────────────────┴──────────┐
           *North/West              (1st cent.?)     *East
           Germanic                                  Germanic
       ┌───────┴───────┐
   *West      (5th cent.?)   *North
   Germanic                  Germanic
```
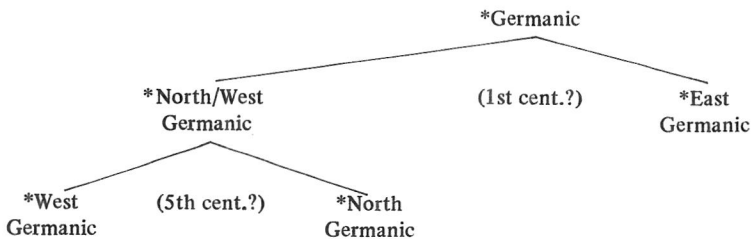
The resulting groups are the same, but the order of splitting is different. In their earliest attested forms the three groups have also been named by their

treatment of the nominative singular masculine suffix: West Gmc *dag*, North Gmc *dagaz*, East Gmc *dags* 'day'. At least for this form it is apparent that the North Gmc was the most conservative; but it would soon follow the example of the others and drop the second vowel.

1.5   Common Scandinavian

The earliest runic inscriptions do not yet show such typically Nordic features as the loss of initial glides (rule Cl, 3.2 below). On the Skodborg bracteate (Jylland, c. 500) there is *j(ara)* '(good) year' for later *ār*; on the Tune stone (Norway, c. 400) there is *worahto* 'worked' for later *orta*. The last runic inscriptions on the ornamental medallions known as 'bracteates' c. 550 also represent a transition to the Common Scandinavian period. At this time most of the forms are still constructed rather than attested, for the material remains exceedingly scanty. Yet we can see that it was a period of very considerable changes, to be described below (2.4, 3.2). These included the weakening and loss of syllables, the disappearance of consonants, expansion of the inventory of vowels by umlaut and breaking, and a restructuring of the consonant system. New pronouns appear, along with suffixed definite articles and mediopassive verb forms (4.3.2, 5.3.12).

By the time of the Viking Period (c. 750–1050) a split is observable between the West that faced the Atlantic and the East that looked to the Baltic. This was of course not absolute, only a difference in the tempo and direction of change. Later dialects show that innovations spread across the borders in both directions. Iceland became the most typically 'West Scandinavian', having brought across the sea a form of West Norwegian and developed it in relative isolation after the period of settlement (870–930). Otherwise the West Scand area included roughly the old Norwegian kingdom: beside present-day Norway the (now Swedish) provinces of Jämtland, Herje-dalen, and Bohuslän, the so-called 'western isles' of Shetland, the Faroes, the Orkneys, the Hebrides, the Isle of Man, plus coastal areas of Scotland and Ireland; and of course Greenland (with Vinland on the American coast). The East Scand area included present-day Denmark and Sweden (minus the provinces mentioned above), plus part of Finland and some of the opposite Baltic coast. Gotland was semi-independent; south Sweden was part of Denmark. The Danish kingdom was the strongest, straddling the Atlantic and Baltic in a key position, and forming a link with the rest of Europe.

A genealogical tree would show the following division:

```
                        *Common Scandinavian
              ┌──────────────────────┴──────────────────────┐
         *West Scand                                    *East Scand
          ┌────┴────┐                         ┌─────────────┼─────────────┐
   Old Icelandic  Old Norwegian        Old Swedish    Old Gutnish    Old Danish
```
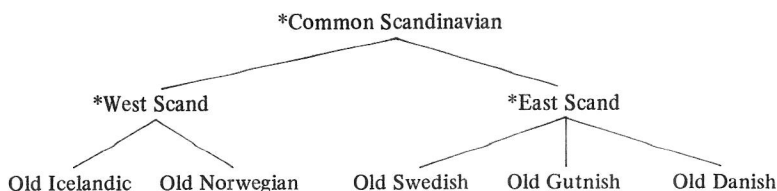
1.6   West Scandinavian

The most precise term for this language would be *Old West Scandinavian* (OWSc; in German *Altwestnordisch*). As noted above, it is essentially Old Norwegian (*gammelnorsk,* as it is known in Norway, unless the historical term *norrøn* is used). Since the Old Icelandic norm is more unified than the Old Norwegian one, and its literary production far more significant, it has been established in normalized form as *Old Norse* (ON), the name under which it is generally taught. The norm of academic ON is distinctly different from OIc, however, both in its marking of long vowels (by acute accents: *á é í* etc) and in other respects. Normalized ON is a modern creation in the spirit of today's normative linguistics (1.2 above), a compromise between modern Icelandic and the old manuscripts.

The earliest writings were primarily official, serving either the Church or the secular government. There are major law codes, e.g. the *Gulathing Law* from Norway (ms. c. 1250) and the *Grágás Law Code* from Iceland (ms. c. 1260–70), both copied from older, lost manuscripts. There were books of homilies, translations of religiously edifying books, tales from the Bible, and a flood of legal documents, including the charters (also known as 'diplomas'). There were translations of secular literature, chiefly chivalric tales from the French for the entertainment (and instruction) of the nobility: Marie de France's *Lais* (in ON: *Strengleikar* 'Songs with Music') and the *Song of Roland* (in ON: *Karlamagnús saga* 'Tale of Charlemagne'). The only major original work in ONw is the *King's Mirror* (in ON: *Konungs skuggsjá*), from c. 1250. The Icelandic literature of the period (1150–1350) is too abundant and well-known to be documented here. It suffices to mention the powerful poetry of *The Poetic Edda* (some of which goes back to Norway); the intricate poetic odes of the named skalds (the earliest Norwegian); the masterful Snorri Sturluson's (1178–1241) history of the Norwegian kings, the *Heimskringla;* and his classic *Prose Edda.* Then there is the world-famous saga literature, together making up one of the most original contributions of Scandinavia to world literature.

The linguistic differences between West and East Scandinavian will be detailed below (2.5, rules 15–28; 3.3, rules C6–14). At no point did these constitute unified writing traditions; for details the reader is referred to Haugen 1976, 10.5 (pp. 198–214). But a number of the differences that still distinguish Ic, Fa, and NN on the one hand from BN, Da, and Sw on the other are already apparent:

West	East	
$\bar{u}$	$\bar{o}$	*brū/brō* 'bridge'; *būa/bō* 'dwell'; *kū/kō* 'cow'; *trūa/trō* 'believe'
o	*u*	*boð/buð* 'message'; *holt/hult* 'grove'
+uml.	– uml.	*skȳtr/skjūter* 'shoots'; *kemr/kommer* 'comes'
CC	NC	*soppr/svamp* 'mushroom'; *brattr/branter* 'steep'; *ekkja/enkia* 'widow'
2pl. *-iþ*	*-in*	*fariþ/farin* 'you (pl.) go'; *komiþ/komin* 'you (pl.) come'

While the WScand forms in general are more conservative, the forms here given show that this is not true of all features. Old Icelandic is more consistent in carrying through general phonological changes, while the more easterly dialects tend to level these out. One notes this in moving from WNw to ENw and from this to Västergötland in Sweden and then to Östergötland and Svealand. It is often a major problem to determine where the line runs between traditional modes of writing and the scribe's own dialect.

1.7 East Scandinavian

It is at first difficult to distinguish Danish from Swedish in the EScand material. After 1300 Danish shows a vigorous innovative trend that creates a major cleavage with Swedish. One cause could have been the shifting of the center of power from the Archbishop's seat in Lund to the royal court in Copenhagen, with consequent reduction in importance of the writing traditions of Skåne (East Danish) as well as of Jylland (West Danish). Within Sweden there were distinct traditions in Västergötland, which was closer to Norwegian, and Östergötland, which became dominant. The two Götalands must of course be clearly distinguished from the island of Gotland, where Old Gutnish was written.

Latin enjoyed greater strength in East than in West Scandinavia, at least

in official writing. In Denmark the historian Saxo Grammaticus wrote his history of Denmark in Latin; his contemporary in Iceland, Snorri Sturluson, wrote the history of Norway in Icelandic. Original literature in Old East Scandinavian is therefore rather thin, some of the most important being fragments of the writings of St. Birgitta (c. 1303–1373), although most of them were in Latin. The documents of greatest interest are the laws, because they were composed separately for each judicial district, from Jylland in western Denmark to Hälsingland in northern Sweden. There were also King Magnus Eriksson's National Law *(Landslagen)* and the Law of Gotland *(Guta lag),* both from c. 1350.

As will be shown below (2.5.1), *i-* and *u*-umlaut were less consistently applied in the East than in the West, and there is reason to think that the cause was later analogical leveling (Widmark). This is only what we might expect in an area of greater population and more intensive trading, including a close contact with the Hanseatic League, whose Low German was also being leveled. EScand monophthongization of *ei* (to $\bar{e}$), *au* and ϕy (to $\bar{\phi}$) has been attributed by some to the Old Saxon change of *ai* (to $\bar{e}$) and *au* (to $\bar{o}$). In EScand the change seems to have arisen in Denmark and then spread north through Sweden, but without reaching the northernmost or the eastern dialects (Norrbotten, Österbotten, or Gotland). On the other hand, it later spread across the border into adjacent parts of Norway (Østerdalen, Trønde-lag). It seems a classic instance of how isoglosses do not coincide with national borders and may even fail to appear in writing. A typically EScand innovation was the umlauting of vowels by preceding j: *hjarta > hjærta* 'heart', *mjolk > mjølk* 'milk', *fljūga > flȳga* 'fly'; but these are also wide-spread in Norway (rule 22, 2.5.2). In *jag* 'I' Sw has retained the *a,* while Da and most of eastern Nw have umlauted it: *jeg* [jæi, jai, jæ, je].

1.8   Middle Scandinavian

The language development of Scand from 1350, the time of the Black Death, to the Reformation in the early 1500's is too momentous to summarize in a brief space. Historically the period was part of the Middle Ages, but it was also their end. It was a transition from the relatively static society of the three first Catholic centuries of Scandinavia to a dynamic, revolutionary period of ferment and change. In the still medieval fourteenth century the trend was toward a Nordic dynastic union under the Danish scepter. A union was formally consummated by Queen Margaret of Denmark in the pact signed

at Kalmar in Sweden in 1397. But under less competent rulers than Margaret the union disintegrated.

A rebellion led by the nobleman Gustavus Vasa of Sweden in 1523 successfully split Norden in two, establishing Swedish dominion in the East, including Finland and the other trans-Baltic areas. Denmark was left with Norway and those of the old Norwegian colonies that had not been absorbed by Great Britain: the Faroes, Iceland, and Greenland.

The Reformation strengthened the royal power in each of the new countries by promoting national Lutheran churches, which were no longer under papal control. Henceforth they were arms of the state. The invention of printing made possible the growth of a new, centralized written norm, which would eventually be spread to the laity through the teaching of reading in the vernaculars. The two kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark (officially: Denmark-Norway) were too nearly equal in power for either to overcome the other and restore a single Nordic realm, a fact which it took a number of bloody wars to establish. In the early modern period Sweden, as the richer country, had developed a military establishment that enabled her to play – for a brief period – a role as a major European power: we think of the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) and the exploits of Charles XII (1697–1718).

Before the Reformation the writing norms, especially in the government offices and the monasteries of the Birgittine Order, reflect some of the trend toward a union. In the late 1300's Queen Margaret decided to change the language of administration from Latin to Danish. The Swedish chancery in Stockholm was writing a Swedish not untinged by Danish. Under a Danish policy of replacing Norwegian officials with Danes, Old Norwegian yielded step by step to the written Danish of the government. Nw hung on in local legal practice as late as 1450, but after that time little was written in Norway of any kind until after the Reformation. When active, original writing did begin, it was all in Danish. There had been no tradition of popular copying of manuscripts, like that in Iceland, and the folk literature was not recorded.

In Denmark and Sweden, on the other hand, there was an unbroken tradition of scribbling in the service of the new monarchies. This was not just legal, comprising property rolls and court records *(tänkeböcker),* but included Bible paraphrases, legendaries, rhymed historical chronicles, leechbooks, and various kinds of instructional manuals. Entertainment was largely derived from the translation of foreign romances, e.g. *Namenlos och Valentin* (1457), a Swedish paraphrase of a German paraphrase of a French original. Only in Iceland did the old writing tradition remain alive among the common people, in spite of their subjection to Danish officials, who ruled the country in their

own language. Icelanders diligently copied and read their old manuscripts, but they also created a new kind of native ballad literature, the *rímur,* though to be sure in an Icelandic with strong influences from Danish.

On the mainland local communities were sufficiently isolated so that the primary spoken dialects kept drifting apart without regard to official centralization. The writing norms were honored only in the chanceries and the monasteries. In speech a major phonetic change was the 'syllabic revolution' which spread throughout most of Scandinavia, possibly under the influence of similar developments in German and English (see below 2.2.4, and rules 25 in 2.5.2, 32 in 2.6.1). Stressed syllables were given more weight by becoming uniformly long, containing either a long vowel or a long consonant (geminate or cluster). Words like *vika* 'week' had to become either *vīka* or *vikka,* with different dialects choosing different solutions. In Nw we see the effects in forms like *vēka* in the west, *vækka* in the east; in Sw *vēka* in Götaland, standard *vecka* (from the Svealand dialects).

The most conspicuous changes, however, were those that revolutionized the *grammatical* and *lexical* structures of the mainland languages, leaving them less authentically Nordic than the insular Faroese and Icelandic, or even some of the more remote inland dialects of Nw and Sw. Even if the Hanseatic League did not establish military dominion in Scandinavia, the wealth and power of the north German cities was such that even kings had to bow to their will. The Hansa established major trading posts — cities within the cities — from Bergen in the west to Visby in the east. Germans immigrated in great numbers to major Nordic cities, creating societies of their own in such major centers as Copenhagen, Oslo, Kalmar, and Stockholm. In these cities and in their commerce with the Germans, many Scandinavians were forced to become bilingual in Low German. From this language they adopted quite literally thousands of words for the many and varied crafts that were introduced or dominated by the Germans.

The borrowing of terms extended to the point where even German prefixes like *be-* and *an-* or suffixes like *-heit* and *-inne* became part of the productive apparatus of the Nordic languages. Nor is it too improbable to speculate that the general breakdown of case and personal endings was due to the same bilingual influence. We recall that a similar change from a synthetic (case-oriented) to an analytic (word-order-oriented) structure took place a little earlier in English at a time when it was under strong influence from ON and French. Low German became to mainland Scandinavian what ON and Fr were to English — a 'teacher' language, a catalyst.

1.9   Modern Scandinavian

As a written language Low German was itself doomed by the Reformation, when diligent use of Luther's Bible helped to spread the High German written norm of the Upper Saxon chancery. LG, like other dialects, has continued to be spoken, but was socially subordinated to the new tertiary dialect of German, which was supported by the spelling. While no one spoke the "stage German" *(Bühnendeutsch)* precisely, the *lingua franca* of the new Germany became a supralocal form of HG. A similar trend in Norden led to its splitting into an eastern Swedish-dominated and a western Danish-dominated area, each with its own written norm. These were canonized in the Bible translations into Swedish (1541) and Danish (1550), with all the writings that sprang up around these. Both norms were strongly etymological and traditional, but the new Swedish norm-givers avoided Danish forms to the best of their ability. Forms known in the traditions of both countries were now differently normalized because of the hostility of the two governments, e.g. by the Swedish writing of the extra alphabetic letters as *å ä ö* for Danish *aa æ ø*.

The tertiary or élite dialects that developed among the upper classes were influenced by and influential in determining the spelling. Swedish consonants that had long been silent, at least in the dialects surrounding Stockholm, were now to be pronounced, at least on formal occasions: the *-t* of the n. sg. article *-et* (*huset* 'the house'), the weak pret. *-d-* of *-ade* (*kastade* 'threw'), the *-n* of the f. sg. article *-en* replacing dialectal *-a* (*solen* 'the sun', not *sola*). The Danish norm required an unpalatalized stop pronunciation of *k(i)*, where most dialects had an affricate, e.g. [kɸð] for [kjɸð] or [tçɸð] 'meat', variously spelled *kiɸd* or *kjɸd* (now *kɸd*). The development of postvocalic *p* to *b* was followed in the dialects by an opening to [w], but *b* was established in writing and adopted in the pronunciation: *kɸbe* 'buy' became [kɸbə], not [kɸwə] (see rule Da-C3 in 3.9 below).

In Norway, as noted above (1.8), the loss of a writing tradition meant the introduction of Danish. Written Danish was far closer to Norwegian speech than spoken Danish, being conservative and phonetically ambiguous. So it was not difficult for urban Norwegians to develop a tertiary dialect in which the Danish framework was adapted to Norwegian pronunciation. Norwegians learned to write 'soft', i.e. voiced stop consonants after vowels, e.g. *mad* 'food', *sag* 'case', *kjɸbe* 'buy', but they continued to say [māt, sāk, çɸpə], not like the Danes [mað, sa'ɣ, kɸbə]. Only in learned or official terms did they adopt spelling pronunciations, e.g. *sagfɸrer* 'lawyer' [sāg-], not [sak-] as in Nw nor [saw-] as in Da; *viden* 'knowledge' [vĭdn̩], not [vĭtn̩] as in Nw,

nor [vī̀ờṇ] as in Da (on the other hand [vī̆tə] for *vide* 'to know'). This mixture of Da and Nw, some might call it a 'creolized' Danish, became the natural speech of the Norwegian upper class and has gradually spread to the entire bourgeoisie, at least as a formal language. Created in Norway and never mistaken by Danes as Danish, it became the basis of nationalistic spelling reforms in 1907 and 1917. It is in its reformed variety the language known as *bokmål* officially, *riksmål* popularly. As spoken, it is to most people quite simply *norsk* 'Norwegian'. In my *Scandinavian Languages* (1976) I called it by its historically correct name *Dano-Norwegian* (DN). Since this is felt by its users to be pejorative, I have here adopted the official name *bokmål*, though with misgivings, and abbreviate it BN (i.e. *Bokmål Norwegian*).

The reason for such sensitivity is of course the controversy aroused by its rivalry with another variety of Norwegian, one which lays claim to being the only 'true' Norwegian. This is now officially known as *nynorsk*, formerly *landsmål;* instead of calling it New Norwegian, we shall here use *Nynorsk Norwegian*, still abbreviated NN. When features common to both are referred to, we shall simply call them *Norwegian* (Nw). For it is a matter of some doubt whether we are here speaking of two languages or of two dialects of one language. NN, contrary to the other Scand languages, is a deliberately constructed writing norm, inspired by the discomfort of Norwegians in the 19th century at not having a written language of their own. From having none they have now moved to having two, which is almost equally uncomfortable. Forwardlooking Norwegians have worked on efforts to bring the two together, and have at least succeeded in reducing the gap between them.

NN was first launched in 1853, got its formal grammar in 1864, and its dictionary in 1873. All this was the work of Ivar Aasen, language reformer, dialectologist, and self-taught linguist. His method may be called one of comparative dialect reconstruction. From the primary dialects of Norway, especially those least affected by Danish, he constructed a written norm embodying the leading features of the rural dialects. The result corresponded to what he believed written Norwegian would (or should) have been if it had not been lost in the Middle Ages. This included among other things restoring the diphthongs that Da had monophthongized, the stops that Danish had voiced and/or spirantized, and the feminine gender that Da had merged with masculine. While his norm did not become the full replacement of Danish he hoped for, it has strongly influenced the written form of BN, and in spite of its lack of an urban élite speech community, it has proved to be a viable language. Both language norms are now official, required subjects in school, with preference based on local option. At present only about one-sixth of

Norway's children are taught NN as their primary language, mostly in the western and midland sections of the country.

Aasen's norm, with its distinctly West Scandinavian orientation, has points of contact with Faroese and Icelandic. Aasen was familiar with the Icelandic movement for purifying and restoring Icelandic in the 19th century. This, in turn, acted as an inspiration also for the creation of a viable historical orthography for Faroese by V.U. Hammershaimb in 1846. Step by step the Danish hegemony over western Scandinavia was broken, leaving mainland Denmark as its only homeland. Since 1948 Faroese is official in all internal affairs, although Danish remains an important second language. In Greenland the Greenlandic language is playing an increasing role since the new status of Greenland as an autonomous territory from 1978. On the East Scandinavian side, Swedish has lost its dominant status in Finland. Although it is widely taught and is recognized as an important link with the rest of Scandinavia, it is the native tongue of only 6.5 % of the population.

In modern times the chief innovation has been the creation of written norms and the spread of closely related speech forms, here called élite or tertiary dialects. Nevertheless the primary dialects have continued in use within their local domains. The 19th century probably saw the climax in their vigor and viability. As they have since been gradually urbanized and brought into living contact with the larger society, earliest and most effectively in Denmark, country people no longer enjoyed (or endured?) the kind of isolation they had known for so long. The contact was established by migration to the cities (and to America), or conversely by bringing into their homes the newspapers, books, radios, and TV's that had been the privilege of the élite. Railroads and automobiles conveyed them to and fro, leading to the rise of new contact dialects, what we have here called 'secondary' dialects. These compromises between primary and tertiary dialects might enjoy little social prestige, but they were appropriate and viable in a new, proletarian-democratic society. In the meanwhile new jargons, new styles of specialized speech and writing, and new group slangs came into being to express new types of social experience.

Two chief concerns have dominated recent thinking about language in Norden. One is the problem of inter-Scandinavian intelligibility. Few are willing to exert the enormous effort of learning Finnish; so Finns are expected to learn Swedish, for them an equally great effort, but at least traditional. Icelandic also has to be written off, a tidbit of inspiration for afficionados, but mostly requiring translation, along with Faroese. Since World War II language commissions established in all the countries have included on their program plans for cooperation with their Scandinavian neighbors

to promote mutual understanding. This effort has now culminated (1978) in the establishment of a coordinating Scandinavian Language Secretariat, with offices in Oslo. The other concern is the role of the Nordic languages in relation to the outside world. Technology and international cooperation require that Scandinavians learn foreign languages, at least English. All their school systems today begin teaching English very early and with considerable success. The other side of the coin is the consequent tendency to adopt English words and expressions wholesale. Language planners work hard at maintaining the resources of the vernaculars to keep up with international culture withouth loss of identity, keeping before them the model of Icelandic. The alternative would be complete transition to English, a consummation devoutly to be avoided. It is still possible for Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes to communicate with each other while using their own languages; but it requires a certain effort on each side and a willingness to learn, if the communication is not to break down entirely.

1.10   Plan of the Book

This quick sketch of what is often called the 'external history' of the languages is intended as a background for better understanding of the linguistic development traced in the rest of the book. The term 'external' may be misleading, since language is meaningful only when used in social communication. The nature of that society which uses a language is a significant part of the language, unless we confine ourselves to the most technical and mechanical parts of the language. It is only by an artificial technique that grammar can be isolated from the messages it helps to convey. In the following chapters we shall trace the development of the major structures that make up the Scandinavian languages: *phonology* (vowels, ch. 2; consonants, ch. 3); *morphology* (nominal, ch. 4; verbal, ch. 5); *syntax* (ch. 6); and *lexicon* (ch. 7). In each chapter we take a reconstructed Common Scandinavian as our base (with some consideration of the preceding Proto-Scandinavian) and trace its development down to the standard languages of today.

We use as framework a series of numbered rules, roughly ordered in time: unmarked for vowels, marked with a C for consonants, and preceded by the abbreviated name of a language when they apply primarily only to one language. At the end of chapters 2 and 3 there are summary lists of the rules for easy reference.

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Chapter 2

Phonology: prosodic and vocalic structures

2.1　Definitions

2.1.1　*Phonology.*　The sounds that make up the phonological system of a language are only in part and often misleadingly reflected in the alphabetic spelling. In principle each *letter* should correspond to one and only one *distinctive sound,* or *phoneme,* and vice versa, but this condition is rarely if ever met. Neither the runic nor the Roman alphabets (1.2) do more than indicate in a general, inconsistent way how any given Scand word should be pronounced. Historical changes in pronunciation have not always been matched by corresponding changes in spelling. In a brief bird's-eye sketch of the phonology like the present it will not be possible to remedy this deficiency. The following note may be helpful to the reader.

Although all the Scand languages today are spelled in the same Roman alphabet as English, the needs of their sound systems have caused them to give the familiar letters new sounds and even to add some letters that will be new to non-Scandinavians. The following appear at the end of the alphabet in this order: Da Nw *æ ø å;* Sw *å ä ö;* Fa *æ ø*; Ic *þ æ ö.* Fa and Ic also have a crossed ð, which is alphabetized with *d.* Ic and Fa also have vowels with acute accents: *á é* (only Ic) *í ó ú ý*, which in normalized ON represent long vowels. These and the other letters, new or old, have more or less different sound values, not only when we compare languages, but even within each language. Wherever needed, these values will be clarified with the help of the modified phonetic alphabet on p. 214.

2.1.2　*Prosodic Features.*　While vowels and consonants may be thought of as basic units of phonological analysis, *segments* of the speech chain, the prosodic features or *prosodemes* apply to larger units, from the syllable up to the complete utterance. They are also called *suprasegmentals.* The ones that play a significant role in Scand are: stress, accent, intonation, quantity, and juncture.

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Stress is the dynamic prominence given to a particular syllable compared to others in the same word, as in Eng *a'cid* vs. *acid'ity* (2.2.1).

Accent is one of two possible musical pitch patterns ('tones') applied to stressed syllables in most Scand dialects. In Danish one of the tones is replaced by a glottal catch *(stød)*, here included with the accents (2.2.2).

Intonation is the pattern applied to whole utterances, particularly the last syllable, which may have *falling, level,* or *rising* intonation. We shall not discuss these in detail here, since they differ greatly in the various languages and would require complex musical notation (2.2.3).

Quantity is the relative length in *time* of vowels, consonants, or of whole syllables. These may usually be characterized as either *long* or *short* (2.2.4).

Juncture is a brief but perceptible break between successive syllables when these mark the transition from one word or morpheme to another, as in Eng *night-rate* compared to *nitrate.* Juncture is normally not marked in the spelling, but when necessary we shall use a hyphen to indicate it (2.2.5).

In most written texts these features are unmarked and have to be supplied by the native speaker. Their presence in the speech of older periods can sometimes be inferred, but is usually problematic.

2.2   Development of the Prosodic Structures

2.2.1 *Stress.* As in other Germanic (Gmc) languages, the main rule is that *primary* stress ['] falls on the *root* syllable when a word is pronounced in isolation. The rule was a Gmc innovation, but in Scand (as in Ger and Eng) it has been violated by numerous loanwords from French and Latin. In *compounds* the primary stress of the second member is reduced to *secondary* stress [‚], as in Eng *streetcar* etc. In *derivatives* some suffixes get *tertiary* stress, e.g. *-ing* or *-are.* In syntactic combination with other words, some words get reduced stress. *Function words,* such as articles, prepositions, modal adverbs, conjunctions, and pronouns, lose their stress entirely. These, as well as the remaining syllables of polysyllabic words, may be called *unstressed* or *weak.* For these four degrees of stress some use the Latin terms *fortis, semifortis, levis,* and *levissimus.* If we number them 4-3-2-1, a word like ON *hofðingjaveldi* 'chieftain's domain' would have the pattern 4 2 1–3 1. In general we shall mark only the primary stress by an accent ['] after the syllable to which it applies: [hov'ðiŋgja-vel‚di]. Placing it after the consonant indicates that the preceding vowel is short. The secondary stress usually falls on the first syllable of the second member.

In connected speech only the words that give most information, i.e. nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, retain primary stress. Even verbs may be reduced, and the function words keep stress only when they are contrasted, as in Eng: *in'* the river, not *on'* the river. Syllables with weak stress show a strong historical tendency to be dropped entirely. They also have a more restricted inventory of members (as in ON *a i u,* see below 2.4.1). Primary (and secondary) stress focuses attention on syllables, so that they are less likely to be lost.

2.2.2 *Accent.* In most dialects of Germanic, syllables with primary stress are also marked by having higher pitch than the weaker syllables. This is true of Icelandic (Ic) and Faroese (Fa) as well as a number of other Scand dialects, of which it is said that they have *høytone*/Sw *högton* 'high tone'. In a central area including eastern Norway and western Sweden this was replaced by a 'low tone', i.e. a downglide on the primary stress. South German has a similar tendency. These may be called *lavtone/lågton* 'low-tone' dialects.

In most Scandinavian dialects of today, however, there are two different accents: 1 and 2. In addition to the high or low tone that coincides with the peak of the stress, there is a second, more complex musical pattern. This occurs only on words (or occasional phrases) having more than one syllable. It is peculiar to Scand, but is not found in all dialects. Generally known as *accent 2* (also called 'complex', 'polysyllabic', 'grave'), it is distinguished from the basic *accent 1* ('simple', 'monosyllabic', 'acute'). Phonetically it is characterized by having a pitch pattern that peaks (or dips) *after* the primary stress peak, either at the beginning of the second syllable, or as a separate peak, in the middle of it. In East Nw and central Sw it gives foreign learners the impression of a primary stress on the second syllable. While it may have some extra stress, it is not as strong as a primary. There is marked regional variation in the phonetic pattern of the two accents, but 2 is in general more complex, since the pitch is out of phase with the stress.

Although the accents are not written in the usual orthography, they are capable of distinguishing otherwise identical words. When necessary, we shall therefore mark them by the usual Scand device of an acute accent (') for 1 and a grave (`) for 2. In our system these symbols will then also represent stress, since every syllable with primary stress must have either accent 1 or 2. Examples of minimal pairs in Sw and Nw are:

Acc. 1 Sw	*bu'ren* 'the cage	Nw	*sva'len* 'the porch'
2	*bùren* 'borne'		*svàlen* 'the swallow'

The contrast can occur only in polysyllabic words. The reason for accent 1 in *bu'ren* and *sva'len* is that these consist of monosyllables *bur* and *sval* with an added definite article *-en*. *Bu'ren* is a participle, which had two syllables in Common Scandinavian (CSc). *Sva'len* consists of the dissyllable *svale* plus the article *-n*. Since monosyllables in principle have accent 1, the rule may be formulated: a suffixed def. art. does not change the accent.

The rule is actually much more complicated than this, and cannot be stated without considering the earlier forms of many words. In Nw the plural suffix *-er* induces accent 1 in *geiter* 'goats', accent 2 in *stoler* 'chairs': [jɛi'tər] vs. [stω'lər]. The reason is clearly that in ONw the pl. of 'goat' was *geitr*, that of 'chair' was *stōlar*. The intrusive *-e-* has not changed the accent: *geiter* is still accentually a monosyllabic word. The intrusive *-e-* and the suffixed def. art. both developed in CSc times, which proves that the distinction of accents goes back at least to that period.

How much farther back we do not know. Some have tried to connect it with the pitch accents of Indo-European. But its absence from other Gmc languages makes that conclusion dubious. In PSc it seems to have been a non-distinctive high pitch tied to the presence of secondary stress (long syllables) in the second or third syllables of many words.

Accent 2 is absent in a number of peripheral Scand languages and dialects: Icelandic, Faroese, some Norwegian (Hordaland, Finnmark), southern Danish including Bornholm, some Swedish (Uppland), and Finnish Swedish. This can be explained in two ways: as a relic of an older state of language, or as loss due to contact with non-Scandinavian speakers (which seems clear at least in the case of Finnish Swedish).

In standard Danish (as well as most of Jylland and Sjælland) the tonal distinction is lost, but is replaced by one between the presence of a glottal catch (= accent 1) and its absence (= accent 2). The glottalization (somewhat similar to a light hiccup) is known in Danish as *stød* (Ger *Stoss*). It is a slight contraction of the vocal cords occurring near the end of the vowel if it is long, in the following consonant if the vowel is short and the consonant is voiced. When needed, we mark it here with an apostrophe after the phoneme in which it occurs: *hus* [hū's] 'house', *mand* [man'] 'man'.

In general the distribution of *stød* in Danish corresponds to that of accent 1 in Nw and Sw, so that there must be a connection. The glottalization is a way of emphasizing the unitary stress of accent 1, perhaps arising at a time when the second syllables of accent 2 words were weakening (rule Da-2, 2.6.6 below). This may take us as far back as 1300 A.D.; we know from contemporary accounts that Da had *stød* by 1500. In Southern Jylland and Fyn there are local dialects which have preserved a musical accent similar to those

of Nw and Sw, suggesting that Da also had it at one time. The Da *stød* is not to be confused with the glottalization of Old Danish (ODa) *kk pp tt* in the apocopating dialects of West Jylland: *takke* > [ta'k] 'thank', *hoppe* > [hå'p] 'jump', *rette* > [Ræ't] 'correct'. This is not a prosodic feature of the syllable, but a phonetic feature of the shortened stops (Ringgaard 1960).

2.2.3 *Intonation.* Dialects with high-tone stress pitches usually have a falling sentence intonation in declarative sentences. In dialects with low-tone stress there is a contrary trend toward rising sentence intonation. East Nw has a markedly rising intonation in statements, which is often mistaken by outsiders to be questioning. This inverse relationship suggests that the final pitch needs to be in contrast with that of the stress peaks. In any case the two musical accents have to be fitted into a variety of sentence intonations and form part of these. This is shown by the fact that either accent can be pronounced with the same final intonation: rising, level or falling. The crucial part of the word accent curve is associated with the primary stress, either coinciding with it (accent 1) or following it (accent 2). A statement can be turned into a question just by changing the intonation to a sharp rise at the end, but questions that are marked by inversion or by a question pronoun do not necessarily rise. In general the Scand dialects with musical accents have a livelier movement (some would say a more singsong quality) than the rest.

2.2.4 *Quantity.* The contrast of *long* and *short* vowels is inherited from Gmc and IE, but geminated or double consonants (which we may refer to here as 'long') developed in Gmc and PScand. In PScand long vowels not only occurred in the primary syllable, but also in later ones. There is reason to think that the final vowel was long in such words from the early runic inscriptions as *kurnē* 'corn' dat. sg. and *Finnō* a proper name (PN), cf. ON *korni, Finna.* A central feature in the history of the sound system is the gradual weakening of these later syllables (see rules 1–4 in 2.4.1 below).

In CScand the contrast of long/short for both vowels and consonants made it possible to have four types of syllable:

VC *lit* 'sight' – $\bar{V}$C *līt* 'look!' – V$\bar{C}$ *litt* 'colored' – $\bar{V}\bar{C}$ *lītt* 'little'

(Note: In normalized ON texts length in vowels is marked by an accent, in consonants by gemination, e.g. *lít, lítt,* but in most mss. vowel length is unmarked.) The syllable types are classified as short (VC), long ($\bar{V}$C, V$\bar{C}$), and overlong ($\bar{V}\bar{C}$). Consonant clusters and diphthongs count as long in this scheme, so that for V$\bar{C}$ and $\bar{V}\bar{C}$ one could write VCC and $\bar{V}$CC or

VVCC. In ON verse there are special rules such that the first syllable in *búa* 'live' may count as short, or that two short syllables in *fara* 'go' count as one long.

When the first syllable was short, it probably had relatively less stress than when it was long. At least in some dialects the second vowel was better preserved after a short than a long syllable: *a* remained in words like *fara* 'go', *vera* 'be', but was weakened to *e* [ə] in *þakka* 'thank', *bíta* 'bite', giving *takke, bite*. Known as *vowel balance,* this development is found in a continuous dialect area from Eastern and Northern Norway to Northern Sweden and Finland (see rule 28 in 2.5.2 below). In some dialects (e.g. Trøndelag Nw) the *a* was strengthened to *å,* while the *e* was entirely dropped: *fårrå, vårrå* vs. *takk, bit.* Vowel balance is not reflected in any standard Scand language. Some writers of NN have experimented with it, writing *fara* vs. *takke.*

A more general development, which has affected all the standard languages and virtually all dialects, is the regularization of stressed syllables so that they are all long, i.e. either $\bar{V}(C)$ or VCC. Overlong syllables were being eliminated already in CSc by the shortening of vowels before long consonants, e.g. *nātt* > *natt* 'night' (see rule 6 in 2.4.3), turning $\bar{V}CC$ into VCC. This was followed by the elimination of short syllables, a change probably starting in Denmark c. 1250 and spreading until it reached Iceland c. 1550 (see rule 25 in 2.5.2 and 32 in 2.6.1, 2.6.2). In this 'great quantity shift' some dialects lengthened the vowel (*fara* > *fāra*), others the consonant (*fara* > *farra*), but in either case the net result was to make vowel and consonant length inversely dependent on one another.

A few conservative dialects (e.g. Gudbrandsdalen, Dalecarlia, Österbotten) retained at least some of their short syllables. Danish appears to have returned to short syllables by shortening a number of long vowels and all of the geminated consonants (see rules 32 in 2.6.6 and Da-C5 in 3.9). The difference from Sw and Nw appears in their writing two consonants finally, Da only one: *natt* vs. *nat* 'night'. Medially all three write geminates, but in Da this is purely graphic (as in Ger and Eng): *natten* 'the night' is Da [naḏn̩], Sw and Nw [nattn̩] or [nattən].

The vowel shortening is regular before geminates, as when the n. suffix -*t* is added to adj. ending in -*t:* Ic *hvítur* [kvīːtYr] 'white', n. *hvitt* [kviʰt], BN/Sw *(h)vit* [vīːt], n. *(h)vitt* [vitt]. Before clusters shortening is irregular, length being retained e.g. in BN *rent* [rēnt] 'clean' n., but not in *kokt* (from *koke* 'cook'). The spellings are ambiguous in such words, though occasionally the first consonant of a cluster may be geminated to show preceding vowel shortening: Nw/Sw *vist* [vīst] 'wise' n. vs. *visst* [vist] 'certain' n.

2.2.5 *Juncture.* As mentioned above (2.1.2), compounds typically have junctures (more precisely: open junctures). The general tendency to weaken the later elements of many words has occasionally affected compounds as well. The second word may then be so reduced as to eliminate the juncture and make the word a mere suffix or even part of the stem. Examples: Gmc *arbi-gangja*, literally 'heritage-goer', one who goes to his heritage, > ON *erfingi* 'heir'; Gmc *fori-gangja* (Gothic *faura-gaggja*) 'foregoer' > ON *foringi* 'leader'. Placenames are often contracted beyond recognition, e.g. Nw *Bryn* from an older *Brū-winju* 'meadow by the bridge'.

Unstressed words have a marked tendency in Scand to attach themselves to preceding or following stressed ones, becoming an integral part of them without intervening juncture. Among the examples that will be discussed later are the def. art.: *maðr inn* 'that man' > *maðrinn* 'the man' (4.3.2); the reflexive pronoun: *baða sik* 'bathe oneself' > *baðask* 'bathe' (5.3.4a). The negative particle *ne* coalesced with *ei* 'ever' to make *nei* 'not', with *einn* 'one' in *neinn* 'no one, anyone', and with a whole sentence in *ne wait ek hwārr* 'not know I who' to make ON *nǫkkurr* 'anyone, someone' (4.3.3f). Mostly it was lost, however, like other unstressed prefixes (see 7.4.2), especially before words with the generalizing suffix *-gi* (6.8.1). The phrase *bā þiu* 'both those' (cf. OHG *bediu*) > ON *bǣði* 'both' n.

2.3 Proto-Scandinavian: Vowels

2.3.1 *Symbols.* The older *futhark* (above 1.2) had five vowel symbols in active use: *a e i o u*. A sixth vowel, transcribed *ę* or *ï*, does not appear in early inscriptions, and its value is unknown (Antonsen 1975 holds that it stands for Gmc *ǣ* before its coalescence in PSc with *ā*). In Gmc short *i* and *e* were

Table 1. Vowel System of Proto-Scandinavian. For consonants see table 12 (3.1).

	Short Vowels		Long Vowels		Diphthongs	
	Front (Unround)	(Back) Round	Front (Unround)	(Back) Round	Front (Unround)	(Back) Round
High	i	u	ī	ū	eu/iu	
	e	o	ē	ō		
Low	a		ā		ai	au

partially merged, while *u* underwent a split into *u* and *o*, which were differently treated in the daughter languages. Using the distinctive features front vs. back, round vs. unround, and high vs. low, we can assume the following vowel structure for PSc (with the less relevant features in parentheses).

2.3.2 *Notes.* (a) *a* is 'central', being non-front and non-round; *e* and *o* are 'mid', being non-high and non-low. (b) The diphthong *eu* is attested in several inscriptions, including Opedal *leubu* 'dear', misread as *liubu* (Antonsen 1975, 40); *iu* unstressed. (c) The nasals *ã ĩ ũ* had probably arisen already, where following nasal consonants were lost; cf. *hahai* in the Möjebro inscription for expected **hanhai*. (d) It is probable that the non-front vowels (*a o u*) had front allophones (e.g. [æ ø y]) before front vowels in the following syllable, which would become phonemes in CSc (rule 12 below).

2.3.3 *Ablaut* (also known as *gradation*) is an alternation of different vowels in related word forms. It can be explained in terms of the IE sound system, in which it was still productive. In Gmc and so in Scand it was fossilized, but played a conspicuous role in the verb morphology (cf. Eng *sing – sang – sung*). Elsewhere it may serve to show that words are derived from a common root. The relationship is often obscured by being overlaid with later changes.

Ablaut series	Vowel alternations	Examples (all forms are reconstructed for PScand)
1	*ī* – *ai* – *i*	*wlītan* 'see' – *wlaitōn* 'seek' – *wlituz* 'color' m.
2	*eu* – *au* – *u/o*	*beuɣaz* 'bent' – *bauɣaz* 'ring' – *buɣā̃* – 'bow' m.
3	*eLC* – *aLC* – *uLC*	*gerðu* 'girdle' – *garðaz* 'farm' – *gurðian* 'gird' v.
4	*eL* – *aL* – *āL* – *uL*	*weniz* – *wanaz* – *wāniaz* – *wunēn* 'friend' 'used (to)' 'hopeful' 'enjoy' v.
5	*eC* – *aC* – *āC* – *eC*	*gebu* – *gab* – *gābiaz* – *gebanaz* 'gift' 'gave' 'noble' 'given'
6	*a* – *ō*	*hanā̃* 'rooster' – *hōniō̃* 'chicken'

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To illustrate the basic forms of *ablaut*, the most important alternations are tabulated here, with examples drawn from the general vocabulary. For more examples see the strong verb classes (5.2.1a below). There are six series, here numbered as for the verbs; *C* stands for any consonant except a liquid (*l r*) or nasal (*n*), which are here shown as *L*. Note that in series 1–5 the alternation in columns 1 and 2 is between *e* (*ī* is from *ei*) and *a*, followed by identical vowels or consonants, which are repeated in the last column, preceded by *u* in series 3 and 4, by *e* in 5. Class 6 is unique.

In ON the examples have the following forms: (1) *líta, leita, litr;* (2) *bjúgr, baugr, bogi;* (3) *gjǫrð, garðr, gyrða;* (4) *vinr, vanr, vænn, una;* (5) *gjǫf, gaf, gæfr, gefinn;* (6) *hani, hǿna.*

2.4 From Proto-Scandinavian to Common Scandinavian

2.4.1 *Unstressed vowels.* Vowels without primary or secondary stress were shortened and merged into three vowels, *i a u,* when they were not lost. This change took place between 450 and 900, probably in steps as set forth in the following simplified rules. The initial as well as some of the intermediate forms are hypothetical:

(1) *Contraction:* diphthongs $>$ monophthongs (long vowels).

ai au iu	**kurnai*	**sunauz*	**magiu*
↓ ↓ ↓	↓	↓	↓
ē ō ī	**kornē*	**sonōz*	**magī*
	'corn' dat. sg.	'son' gen. sg.	'son' dat. sg.

(2) *Apocope:* Short vowels drop unless protected by tertiary stress or following *m n r.*

a i u	horna	daɣaz	**katilaz*	**katilōz*	sōlu		**daɣan*
↓ ↓ ↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	but	↓
ǫ ǫ ǫ	horn	daɣz	**katilz*	**katlōz*	sōl		**daɣā*
	'horn'	'day'	'kettle'	'kettles'	'sun'		days' acc. pl.

In **katilaz* the *-i-* has more stress, in **katilōz* less, than the vowel of the last syllable.

(3) *Shortening:* long vowels $>$ short of same quality, except that $\tilde{\bar{a}}$ is fronted to *e* and $\bar{o}$ to *a* (the latter not before *m* or when nasalized finally).

ī e̅ ā ō ū	*magī	*korne̅	*langizã̄	*wlaitȭn	*katlōz	but	*kallōmz	*laugȭ
↓↓↓↓↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓		↓	↓
i e e a u	*magi	*korne	*lengze	*leitan	*katlaz		*kallomz	*laugo
	'son'	'corn'	'longer'	seek'	'kettles'		'we call'	'bath'
	dat. sg.	dat. sg.						acc. sg.

(4) *Merger:* front vowels > i (also written e), back vowels > u (also written o), while a remains a.

i e a o u	*magi	*korne	*lengze	*leitan	*katlaz	*kallomz	*laugo
↓↓ ↓ ↘	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
i a u	megi	korni	lengri	leitã	katlar	kǫllum	laugu

The last line shows normalized ON forms. Other changes are assumed without discussion and will be taken up below.

2.4.2 *Stressed vowels.* While the weak vowels were being further weakened, the stressed vowels grew from five to nine and the diphthongs from three to five. The new vowels and diphthongs began for the most part as positional variants (allophones) of the old. They arose by anticipatory assimilation to a weak vowel in the next syllable. This could only have occurred while the five short vowels were still intact, i.e. during stage (3) above, since the influence was exerted only by the original *a i u*, not the *e o* that merged with them in stage (4). We shall take up these cases of 'remote' assimilation under 2.4.4 and first list those changes which are related to the immediate phonetic context, the 'contact' assimilations, under 2.4.3. Assimilation ranges from partial to complete approximation.

2.4.3 *Contact assimilation.* Most of these are 'regressive' in the sense that a succeeding phone influences a preceding one.

(5) *Diphthong assimilation:* the first member is raised and approaches the quality of the second. The change is similar to umlaut (2.4.4) and is included by some under the same rule.

ai eu au		*stainaz	leubu	*laukaz
↓ ↓ ↓		↓	↓	↓
ęi iu ǫu		*stęinR	*liubu	lǫukR
		'stone'	'dear' f.	'leek'

(6) *Quantity regulation:* quantitative changes begin to alter the pattern (2.2.4 above). Lengthening before juncture and as compensation for lost consonant (C3 in 3.2. below); shortening before some geminated consonants.

sa > *sā* 'that' **rehtaz* >*rēttR* 'right' **gōðt* > **gōtt* >*gott* 'good' n.

(7) *Diphthong contraction:* *ai* > *ā/__h, r; au* > *ō/__h* (i.e. *ai* becomes *ā* before *h* and *r; au* becomes *ō* before *h*.)

ai au	faihiðō	'I painted'	**saira* 'sore'	**þauh* 'though'
↓ ↓			↓	↓
ā ō	faða		sār	**þōh*

(7a) *Contraction before final* ɣ *(> x): ai* > *ē/__* ɣ in **hnaiɣ* > **hnēx* 'knelt', **staiɣ* > **stēx* 'rose' (see C4b in 3.2).

(8) *Lowering:* high vowels > mid/__*h, ht* (where *h* is later lost by rule C3 in 3.2 below).

i ī u ū	**wihtiz*	**wīh*	**druht*	**þuhtō*
↓↓↓↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
e ē o ō	**wehtR (>vettr)*	**wēh (>vē)*	**droht (>drōtt)*	**þohta (>þotta)*
	'creature'	'temple'	'followers'	'thought' 1p. sg.

(9) *Nasalization:* short vowels are nasalized before nasal consonants. If the consonants are lost (rule C5 in 3.2 below), the nasal vowels become distinctive (see the 12th century Ic *First Grammatical Treatise*). Nasalized *i* and *u* may be lowered to *ẽ* and *õ*.

a i u	**gans*	**fram*	**faran*	**fimflaz*	**þrintān*	**wunsku*	**þunraz*
↓ ↓ ↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
ã ĩ ũ	**gãns*	**frãm*	**farãn*	**fĩmflaz*	**þrẽntan*	**õnsku*	**þõnraz*
or or							
ẽ õ	'goose'	'from'	'fare'	'giant'	'thirteen'	'wish' f.	'Thor'

2.4.4 *Remote assimilation* (umlaut, breaking). The new vowel qualities (2.4.2) may have been present in PSc or late Gmc, since some of them are shared by West Gmc. At least a-umlaut (rule 11) and the i-raising of *e* (rule 10) are quite early. Only u-umlaut (rule 14) and breaking (rule 13) are limited to Scand.

The process of remote assimilation was one of anticipating a feature of the following unstressed vowel while pronouncing a preceding stressed vowel. By adding this feature to the stressed vowel the speaker helped to make the following vowel less necessary. When the weaker vowel then disappeared, the new compromise vowel became independent, i.e. phonemic. There were three features that were so anticipated: the *low* feature of *a*, the *front* feature of *i*, and the *round* feature of *u*. The *a* drew the high *i u* down to *e o* (*a*-um-

laut. The *i* drew the non-front *a ǫ o u* forward to *e ǿ ø y* (*i*-umlaut). The *u*
drew the unround *i e ę a* into rounded *y ø ǿ ǫ* (*u*-umlaut). Breaking
was different in that it operated on only one vowel, *e,* which was split into
a falling diphthong (*ia > iǫ*) by *a* or *u* in the next syllable. But here, too,
a feature of the following vowel was anticipated. The umlauts are schema-
tically represented in the following diagram, where arrows show the direction
of influence: *a*-umlaut down, *i*-umlaut left, *u*-umlaut right.

Table 2: Vowel System of Common Scandinavian. For consonants see table 13 (3.2)

Short	Long	Diphthongs
i ——→ y ←—— u	ī ——→ ȳ ←—— ū	iu
↓ ↓		
e ——→ ø ←—— o	ē ——→ ø̄ ←—— ō	ia ————————→ iǫ
ę ——→ ǿ ←—— ǫ	ę̄ ——→ ǿ̄ ←—— ǭ	ęi ——→ ǿy ←—— ǫu
a	ā	

Umlaut produced five new vocalic phonemes, long and short, and two new
diphthongs: the round *y, ø, ǿ, ǫ, ǿy, iǫ* and the unround *ę*. These proved
to be somewhat unstable, some being soon merged with others. But most
Scand dialects have kept at least three of them: the front round *y* and *ø* (Sw
ö) and the low front unround *ę* (Sw *ä*, Da Nw *æ*). The diphthong *ia* (and its
u-umlauted version (*iǫ*) comes from *e* by breaking; if we think of *e* as being
simultaneously high and low (and therefore 'mid'), breaking is the separation
of the two features into sequential phones.

2.4.5 *Dating.* Since a vowel lost by apocope (rule 2) cannot have caused
umlaut, inscriptions with apocope can help date these changes. It is generally
assumed that they came early in the CScand period, say from 600 to 900.
While they occur in all Scand dialects, their results vary in application. One
systematic restriction on *i*-umlaut is that it failed to work on short syllables
before a following lost vocalic *i* (rule 12). Axel Kock (1916) worked out
a classic theory to account for this anomaly: vowels were lost earlier after
long than short syllables. There was, accordingly, a period c. 600–700
of i-umlaut in *long syllables,* then a period c. 700–800 *without* umlaut in
short syllables, and finally a period c. 800–1000 *with* umlaut before *i* that
was not lost (including consonantal *i,* i.e. *j*). Though ingenious, this three-

period theory is phonetically improbable, and other solutions have been proposed. Sommerfelt (1927) suggested that long syllables, being phonetically stronger, exerted greater attraction on the following syllable. Short syllables retained their original quality until after syncope.

2.4.6 *Rules.* These are the rules for umlaut (also known as 'mutation', velar, palatal, and labial) and breaking:

(10) *Raising: e* > *i* before *i* or [*j*] in a following syllable.

e	**seglian* v. 'sail'	**setian* v. 'sit'
↓	↓	↓
i	*sigla*	*sitja*

Sometimes treated with i-umlaut, it is convenient to handle it separately, since the change did not create a new vowel.

(11) *A-umlaut:* high vowels are lowered to mid before a low vowel (usually *a*) in the following syllable.

i *u*	**wiraz* 'man' (cf. Lat *vir*)	**hurna* 'horn'
↓ ↓	↓	↓
e *o*	**weraz* (> ON *verr*)	*horna* (> ON *horn*)

When forms with and without *a*-umlaut occur in the same paradigm, they may be leveled out differently. Expected **sunuz* 'son' nom. > *sunr*, while **sunōz* gen. > *sonar*, but in ON we find both *sonr* and *sunr*, and in the pl. *synir* from **suniuz* (> Da *sønner* from which the new sg. *søn*).

(12) *I-umlaut:* non-front vowels are fronted before a high front vowel *(i)* or glide [j] in the following syllable. On *ǫu* see rule (5).

a o u ā ō ū ǫu	**manniz*	**komiz*	**fullian*	**māli*	**dōmiðō*	**lūkiz*	**hǫuzian*
↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
ę ø y ę̄ ø̄ ȳ ǿy	*męnnR*	*kømR*	*fylla*	*mę̄li*	*dø̄mða*	*lȳkR*	*hǿyRa*
	'men'	'comes'	'fill'	'speech'	'judged'	'closes' 1p. sg.	'hear'

(12a) Vowels in short syllables are not umlauted unless the *ī/j* (a) remains, (b) is preceded by *k* or *g*, (c) is followed by *R* (runic *z*):

**katilōz*	**waliðō*	(a)	**katilaz*	(b)	**takinaz*	**slaɣinaz*	(c)	**batizā*
↓	↓		↓		↓	↓		↓
**katlaR*	*valða*		**kętilR*		**tękinR*	**slęɣinR*		*bętRe*
'kettles'	'chose'		'kettle'		'taken'	'beaten'		'better'
	1p. sg.							

(12b) I-umlaut is also produced by *R* alone (presumably after *z* > [ž], a palatal) in some dialects (Ic, Gotlandic, Dalecarlian Sw): *$\bar{\imath}$ gāz* > OIc *$\bar{\imath}$ gǣr* (cf OSw ODa *$\bar{\imath}$ gār*) 'yesterday'.

(13) *Breaking: e* > *ia* before *a*, *iǫ* (by u-umlaut) before *u* in the next syllable. Breaking fails to occur after *w* (> *v*) *r l* and before *h* in a following syllable; there are also dialect differences.

e	**ebna*	**erþu*	**ehwaz*			**werþan*	**leþra*	**fehu*
↓	↓	↓	↓	but		↓	↓	↓
ia → iǫ	**iabn*	**iǫrþ*	**iǫhwR* (> ON *jór*)			**werþa*	*leþr*	**fe(u)*
	'even'	'earth'	'horse'			'become'	'leather'	'cattle'

(14) *U-umlaut:* unround vowels are rounded before a high round vowel *(u)* or glide [w] in the following syllable.

a e i ā ē ī ei	**barnu*	**teguz*	**triggwz*	**sāru*	**feu*	**blīu*	**eiu*
↓↓↓↓↓↓↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
ǫ ǫ y ǭ ø̄ ȳ øy	*bǫrn*	**tǫgR*	**tryggR*	*sǭr*	*fø̄*	*blȳ*	*øy*
	'children'	'tens'	'safe'	'sore'	'cattle'	'lead'	'isle'

The form *fø̄* is rare, but the only example of umlauted *ē;* its usual form is *fē* (by analogy). Both i-umlaut and u-umlaut may apply to the same word if both occur in the following syllable: **akuisi* > *ǫks* 'axe' (ON *øx*). Before preserved *u* (which Kock considered late, as with i-umlaut) u-umlaut is regionally restricted (see 2.5.1e below).

2.4.7 *The vowel system of CSc.* The result of the changes listed above (rules 1–14) was a system of 10 short vowels, 10 long vowels, and 6 diphthongs in stressed syllables, but only 3 vowels (all short) in unstressed syllables. Whether this in fact existed as a whole at any one time or place is uncertain. Some writers do not recognize *ø ǿ* as a distinct entity, while others wish to distinguish two kinds of *y* and *ø* etc. By the end of the CScand period the system was in any case considerably reduced by mergers of some of the new vowels, while the shift of *i* to *j* before vowels eliminated *ia iǫ iu* (> *ja, jǫ, jū*). The maximum system is presented in 2.4.4 above; even so it should probably include a set of nasalized vowels (rule 9). But their status is uncertain, and they were not indicated in mss. later than 1150.

This complex system, in many ways so different from the Latin one, was too much for the runic futhark to cope with. In the younger futhark (1.2 above) the vowel inventory was reduced to four (*i a u ã*), which was adequate for the unstressed vowels, but not for the stressed ones. After c.1000 AD

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a system of points (dots) developed to mark some of the missing vowels (and consonants). In this 'pointed' or 'dotted' futhark *e* could be written ᛁ (a dotted *i*) and *y* ᚢ (a dotted *u*), instead of the earlier *i* and *u*. About the same time the introduction of the Latin alphabet and the writing on parchment made it possible to invent other methods of representing the new vowels, e.g. new symbols like *œ, æ, ę, ǫ* etc. for the umlaut vowels.

Even before umlauting and breaking were completed, certain mergers and other changes began obscuring its operation. It had ceased to be a productive phonological process, its results often enshrined in the morphological system as a set of alternations between different forms of the same or related words. As we shall see in chapter 4, many grammatical forms were now distinguished by alternations of umlaut or breaking alone, e.g. *mann* (ON *maðr* from **mannR*) 'man', pl. *menn* (CSc **męnnR*, rarely **męðR*) 'men', dat. pl. ON *mǫnnum* (with u-umlaut; elsewhere *mannum*). For reference we shall here list the *base* vowels and the *derived* vowels with which they may alternate as a result of the changes listed in this section.

Table 3. Base vowels and their derivatives

Base vowels	i	e	a	o	u	ī	ē	ā	ō	ū	ęi	iu	ǫu
Derivation: a-umlaut	e				o							io	
i-umlaut		(i)	ę	ø	y		ę̄	ø̄ (ȳ)	ȳ			ȳ	ø̄y
breaking		ia iǫ											
u-umlaut	y	ø	ǫ			ȳ	ø̄	ǭ		øy			
i- + u-uml.			ø̨					ø̨̄					

2.5   Old Scandinavian: West and East

2.5.1 *Early differences.* There must have been differences between west and east even in what has here been called the Common Scand period. The scarcity of written sources requires us to make certain assumptions based on later developments. We shall list here some of the differences that appear to be very old. (See 1.6.)

(a) WSc $\bar{u}$: ESc $\bar{o}$, e.g. *kū: kō* 'cow', *būa, bōa* 'dwell': an ESc innovation, with WSc leveling (Erlandsson 1972).

(b) A-umlaut (rule 11) is differently realized. WSc *o*: ESc *u*, e.g. *holt: hult* (from **hulta*) may go back to Gmc.

(c) I-umlaut (rule 12) was either leveled out or never applied in EScand to the pres. sg. and pret. subj. of strong verbs.

WSc		ESc	
skȳtr	:	*skjūter*	'shoots'
heldr	:	*halder*	'holds'
skyti	:	*skute*	'would shoot'
tǫ́ki	:	*tōke*	'would take'
vǣri	:	*vāre*	'would be'

(d) Breaking (rule 13) was leveled out in all dialects, but more so in WSc than in ESc. Jylland here joined WSc (*ek* 'I', *stælæ* 'steal'); northern Sweden and Gotland often had more breaking than OSw.

E.g. WSc		ESc	
fet	:	*fjat/fjæt*	'step'
stela	:	*stjala/stjælæ*	'steal'
efa	:	*jæva*	'doubt'
ek	:	*jak/jæk*	'I'

(e) U-umlaut (rule 14) is so overlaid by later levelings that it is hard to tell how far it originally extended. Before consonantal *u* (i.e. *w*) and lost *u* it is also ESc: OSw *logh* 'laws', *hon* 'she', *Danmǫrk* (runic *tanmaurk*) 'Denmark', *ǫnd* (runic *aunt* 'spirit'), *ǫ́rn* 'eagle', *mǫl* 'moth'. Both OSw and ODa have *ǫl* 'ale' and *ǫks* 'axe'. But before preserved *u* it is written (as *ǫ o* etc) only in Ic and SWNw manuscripts: *hǫndum* 'hands' dat. pl., *mǫnnum* 'men' dat. pl. vs. ENw OSw ODa *handum, mannum.*

North Sw dialects show some WSc traits, reflecting early contacts, possibly Nw immigration (Holm 1980).

2.5.2 *From CSc to West and East Sc.* The major developments that separated much or all of WSc from ESc:

(15) *Hiatus vowels:* preserved in WSc (but with $\bar{e} > j$), second vowel lost in ESc.

CSc	$\bar{e}a$ $\bar{e}u$ $\bar{a}a$ $\bar{u}a/\bar{o}a$	**sēan*	**trēuminum*	**blāan*	**būan/bōan* (2.5.1a)
	↓ ↓ ↓ ↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
WSc	*jā* *jō* *āa* *ūa*	*sjā*	*trjōm*	*blāan*	*būa*
	↓ ↓ ↓ ↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
ESc	$\bar{e}$ $\bar{æ}$ $\bar{a}$ $\bar{o}$	*sē*	*træmen*	*blān*	*bō*
		'see'	'trees'	'blue'	'dwell'
			dat. pl.	acc. m. sg.	

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(16) *Merger:* non-high umlaut vowels merge, often differently in WSc and ESc. The pairs involved are ϱ/e, ϕ/ϕ, $\rho/\phi/o$, $\bar{\varrho}/\bar{e}$, $\tilde{\varrho}/\tilde{o}$. Merger of ϱ/e and ϕ/ϕ is CSc (9th century). ESc has few examples of ρ and tends to level it (e.g. *dagg* 'dew' in OSw for WSc *dǫgg*). Merger $\bar{\varrho}/\bar{e}$ precedes ESc monophthongization (rule 21). Merger $\bar{\rho}/\bar{o}$ and ρ/o is late CSc, precedes rounding of $\bar{a}$ (rule 26); $\tilde{\varrho}/\tilde{o}$ merge only between *w* and a consonant followed by *u* (rule 24):

CSc	ϱ	ρ		$\bar{e}$	$\tilde{\varrho}$	$\tilde{\varrho}$	*segir*	ρl	ϱrn	*hǫggwa*	*lǫg*	*fe*	*kwǫmu*	*hǫn*
WSc	e	ϱ		$\bar{e}$	$\bar{o}$	o	*segir*	ϱl	ϱrn	*hǫggva*	*lǫg*	*fe*	*kǫmu*	*hon*
ESc	æ	ϕ	u	o	ǣ	$\bar{o}$	o	*sægir*	ϕl	ϕrn	*hugga*	*logh*	*fǣ*	*kōmu*	*hon*
								'says'	'ale'	'eagle'	'hew'	'laws'		'came'	'she'
												'cattle'			pl.

(17) *ESc raising of e:* $e/\varrho > i$ in palatal environment (*g, k* with front vowel or consonant). WScand has *e* here, but ONw *i* in *ingen, ikke*.

e/ϱ	*sęgja*	'say'	*engin*	'no one'	*ekki*	'nothing'	*geva*	'give'
$\downarrow$	$\downarrow$		$\downarrow$		$\downarrow$		$\downarrow$	
i	*sighja*		*ingen*		*ikke*		*giva*	

(18) *Alternation of $\tilde{o}$-/$\tilde{u}$- in negative prefix:* Gmc **un-* 'un-' > $\bar{u}$- in Da BN NN, $\bar{o}$- in Ic Far Sw. The alternation (arising from rule 9 above) is found in OSc sources. It is attributed to varying stress on the prefix: Noreen (1923: 47) claims that $\tilde{o}$- arose under primary stress, while Brøndum-Nielsen (1950: 168) claims the same for $\tilde{u}$-. In modern dialects one or the other is stabilized, and there is no evidence for correlation with stress. $\bar{o}$- also dominates Nw dialects from Sfj and Gbr north. Examples: OIc *óhreinn*/*úhreinn*, ONw *úræinn*/*óræinn* 'unclean'; ODa *ūmyldhe*/*ōmyldhe* 'unmild'; OSw *ō-*/*ū-kwæpinsorþ* 'abusive term'.

(19) *Stress shift of iu > jū:* WSc lowers $\bar{u}$ to $\bar{o}$ before apicals (δ *t s n*), occasionally elsewhere (*ljōma* 'resound').

ESc	$j\bar{u}$	*ljūga*	*krjūpa*	*ljūvr*		*bjūða*	*skjūta*	*frjūsa*	*sjūn*
WSc	$j\bar{u}$/$j\bar{o}$	*ljūga*	*krjūpa*	*ljūvr*	but	*bjōða*	*skjōta*	*frjōsa*	*sjōn*
		'lie'	'creep'	'dear'		'offer'	'shoot'	'freeze'	'sight'

There is considerable lexical and dialectal variation.

(20) *Breaking of y:* in ESc it often splits into sequential components *ju* (ONw also *jo*) in velar and liquid environments.

WSc/CSc	y	syngwa 'sing'	synkwa 'sink'	skyrta 'shirt'	gyrða gird
	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
ESc	ju	sjunga	sjunka	skjurta	gjurða

(21) *Monophthongization:* the old diphthongs are contracted to long vowels (which may be shortened by 2.2.4) in a primarily ESc area.

CSc	ei ou øy	bein 'bone'	drǫumr 'dream'	drøyma 'dream' v.
	↓ ↓ ↓	↓	↓	↓
WSc	ei au ey/øy	bein	draumr	dreyma/drøyma
	↓ ↓ ↓	↓	↓	↓
ESc	ē ō ø̄	bēn	drø̄m	drø̄ma

The WSc forms are in normalized ON orthography, except that *ey* is OIc, *øy* ONw. The actual sound values as well as the ms. orthographies vary widely. Monophthongization involved loss of the glide element and compensatory lengthening of the first vowel (which in the case of *au/ǫu* was often *ø*). The new vowels merged with the old long (or shortened) ones. Runic inscriptions reflect the change in Denmark from c. 900, western Sweden (Götaland) c. 1000, eastern Sweden (Uppland) c. 1100. It did not reach Gotland, Finland, or northern Sweden, but over western Sweden it spread into parts of eastern Norway (incl. some of Trøndelag, perhaps independently, cf. Faarlund 1975)

(22) *Progressive j-umlaut:* in EScand and ENw the non-front vowels were fronted after *j*.

CSc/WSc	ja jā jo jō jū	hjarta	jāta	mjolk	sjōr	fljūga
	↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
ESc/ENw	jæ jǣ jø jø̄ ȳ	hjærta	jǣta	mjølk	sjø̄	flȳga
		'heart'	'promise'	'milk'	'sea'	'fly'

The change appears in Sw from c. 1000, Da c. 1100, ENw c. 1200. Loss of *j* before *y* is from c. 1200.

(23) *Epenthetic (svarabhakti) vowel·* between a stem ending in a C and a following *r* (sometimes *l* and *n*) Ic inserts *u*, Nw *a*, ESc *e/æ*. Regular in OSw and ODa; from 13th cent. in ENw; from 16th cent. in Ic.

CSc (ON)	dagr 'day'	bø̨kr 'books'	brytr 'breaks'	fugl 'bird'	vapn 'weapon'
	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
WSc	dagur etc.	bø̨kur	brytur	fugl	vapn
	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
ESc	dagær etc	bø̨kær	brytær	fugel	vapen

(24) *Nasality:* replaced by length in stressed syllables, disappears elsewhere: *frã* > *frā* 'from', *gãs* > *gās* 'goose', *farã* > *fara* 'go'. The nasal rune *ã* is used for *o* from c. 1050. In Ic nasality was still part of the system c. 1150, according to the *First Grammatical Treatise.* Some modern dialects preserve traces of nasalization (Selbu in Nw, Dalecarlia in Sw), due to later loss of nasal C.

(25) *Lengthening:* short vowels are sporadically lengthened in initial position and before *lC rC nC.* Not marked in the mss, the lengthening is reflected in the development of these vowels along with other long V's.

Init : *akr* 'field', *at* 'to' > NN Sw *åker, åt; ek* 'I' > Ic [jc̄y], NN [ēg]
__ lC : *folk* 'folk', *halfr* 'half' > Ic *folk, halfur* [fo͞ulk, ha͞ulvYr]
__ rC : *borð* 'table', *barn* 'child', *korn* 'corn', *garðr* 'farm' > Da Nw Sw *bord* [Da bo͞'R, Nw bo͞r, Sw bo͞ɔd], *barn* [ba͞n], Nw dial *bån, korn* [Nw Sw ko͞ɳ], *gård* [Da ga͞'R, BN go͞r, Sw go͞ɖ], NN *gard* [ga͞r].
__ nC : *langr* 'long' > Sw *lāng* > *lång* (also some Nw dial); cf. rule Ic-2 below.

(26) *Back-rounding of ā̄: ā̄* > *ā̱,* merging with *ǭ.* Examples: *bātr* > *bā̱tr* 'boat', *māl* > *mā̱l* 'speech'; *rāð* sg. 'counsel' and *rǭð* pl. 'counsels' are merged, in OIc usually written *ráð.* The merger is reflected in confusion of *a* and *o* in mss. from 1200 on. In central Sw dialects it may be as late as 1400. Only in northern Faroese and in Gutlandic is *ā̄* preserved (or restored?). Secondary diphthongization to *au* occurs in Ic, WNw (Sogn, Voss, Hardanger and sporadically elswhere), and SSw (Skåne etc.) (rule 29).

(27) *Vowel harmony:* unstressed *i* [I] and *u* [U] are written alternately *i/e* and *u/o* in ONw (outside SWNw) and in OSw (Västergötland, Skåne). They are written *i* and *u* when the preceding stressed vowel is high: *i y u ī ȳ ū ei øy au, e* and *o* when it is mid: *e ø o ē ø̄ ō.* When the stressed vowel is lower mid or low, usage is complex and varied. The long *ę̄ ā ǭ* induce the lower *e o,* but the short *ę a ǫ* vacillate between i/e and u/o. This is probably due to their uncertain phonetic status: *a* before *u* may often represent *ǫ* (*allum* [ǫllum]). Its i- and u-umlauted derivatives tend to merge with *e* and *o* (rule 16); they are sometimes written *ei* and *au,* which could have induced the writing of high instead of mid vowel (*seigir* 'says' for *seger, aullum* for *ǫllom* 'all' dat. pl.

High:	i	*systir* 'sister'	*bęri* 'bear' 3p. sg. subj.	*himni* 'heaven' dat. sg.
	u	*viku* 'week' gen. sg.	*rǫddu* 'voice' acc. sg.	*eigu* 'possession' gen. sg.
Mid:	e	*brōðer* 'brother'	*bę̄re* 'bore' 3p. sg. subj.	*gerðe* 'did' 3p. sg.
	o	*kono* 'woman' acc. sg.	*sǭgo* 'saw' 3p. pl. pret.	*gengo* 'went' 3p. pl.

It is not known to what extent vowel harmony reflects actual speech. There are few if any traces of it in the later dialects.

Table 4. Vowel System of West Scandinavian

	Short vowels			Long vowels			Diphthongs		
	i	y	u	ī	ȳ	ū			
WSc	e	ø	o	ē	ø̄	ō	ei	ey/øy	ǫu
		a	ǫ	ǣ		ǭ			

Table 5. Vowel System of East Scandinavian

	Short vowels			Long vowels		
	i	y	u	ī	ȳ	ū
	e/æ	ø	o	ē	ø̄	ō
		a		ǣ		ǭ

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(28) *Vowel balance:* unstressed vowels are better preserved after short syllables than after long. Evidence of this appears in some ONw and OSw (Östergötland) mss. In the dialects of ENw TrNw NSw and ESw vowels *(a i u)* are either merged (in shwa) or lost after long syllables (2.2.4 above).

Short syllables:	*faðir* 'father'	*gata* 'street'	*gatu* 'street' gen. sg.
Long syllables:	*tīme* 'hour'	*binde* 'bind' v.	*fōre* 'went' pl.

2.5.3 *The vowel systems of East and West Sc.* The major changes from CSc outlined above are presented in tables 4 and 5, with rule numbers inserted. For consonants see table 14.

2.6 From Old to Modern Scandinavian

2.6.1 *Perspective.* In the Middle Scand period, from c. 1350 to 1550, the various written traditions of the medieval period were restricted to three: Icelandic, Swedish, and Danish (1.8 above). In the modern period three more were added to replace the ones that had been lost: Faroese, N-Norwegian, and B-Norwegian. We shall now list the major innovations of each, beginning with some that spread through considerable areas, without becoming especially characteristic of any one language. Then we shall list (under separate numbers) some of the more important developments in each language (repeating some of the earlier rules to show how they apply there). For the consonants see 3.4.

(29) *Secondary diphthongization:* long or lengthened vowels, being tense, have a tendency to develop final or initial glides that may grow into separate phonemes (as OE *ī* in *bītan* became the [aI] of modern Eng *bite*). Examples will be given below.

(30) *The vowel shift:* in a central area including most of eastern Norway and Sweden to the Baltic the rounded vowels *å o u y* have shifted their phonetic values upward and forward in a systematic way. This includes standard Nw and Sw (though not all dialects), in which $\bar{a} > $ [ō], $\bar{o} > $ [ō̄], $\bar{u} > $ [ʉ] (a high mid vowel), $\bar{y} > $ [ï] (a slightly round high front vowel). The phonetic details are somewhat different for Nw and Sw, but in both languages $\bar{o}$ and $\bar{u}$ are markedly displaced in relation to the usual European norms. The lip position has been described as 'overround', but in a recent study (Lindau 1978) as 'compressed'. By this new labialization (which in Sw may even reach con-

sonantal quality) three rounded vowels can be produced with the tongue in a 'high' position (rule 30 in 2.6.5 below). The shift, which is a typical chain reaction, was apparently triggered by the back-rounding of $\bar{a}$ to $\bar{\varrho}$ (rule 26).

(31) *Laxing:* short vowels, being lax, tend to be lowered. They may be lowered only part way to the next vowel, as in many WNw dialects where $i > $ [I]; see Aasen's attempt to capture this in NN (2.6.4 below). More commonly they are lowered a full step: $i > e, e > æ, y > \phi, u > o, o > \mathring{a}$. Here, as with the tensing of the long vowels (rules 29 and 30), the structure is kept intact. The chief reshuffling comes with the crossing-over of short to long and vice versa (rule 32).

(32) *The quantity shift:* as mentioned in 2.2.4, stressed syllables were regulated for length in the Middle Scandinavian period. As early as 1300 Danish scribes begin spelling *mat* and *ϕl* with double vowels, presumably to mark length: *maat, $\phi\phi$l* (they have been shortened again in later Danish *mad* 'food', *ϕl* 'beer').

(33) *Stress reduction:* the general weakening of post-stress syllables (2.2.4 above) has affected Ic least, Da most. Ic still has the *-a -i -u* of CSc; they are written in Fa as in Ic, and in Sw as *-a -e -o*. But in Fa *i/u* are partly merged, and in Sw the *o* of *visor* is often pronounced *e;* NN had *-a -e -o* in Aasen's original version, but the *-o* has yielded to *-e* (*viser* 'ballads' for *visor*).

2.6.2 *Icelandic.* Most of the rather considerable changes in the Ic vowel system are not reflected in the spelling. The changes have been systematic enough so that the new values can be read into the old symbols, but it is not always easy to go the other way, from sound to symbol. For consonants see 3.5.

(16) *Merger:* $\varrho > \phi$, now written $\ddot{o}$, in the 13th century. E. g. *lǫg* 'law' > *lög, ϕx* 'axe' > *öx(i).*

(Ic-1) Merger: $\bar{\phi} > \bar{æ}$ c. 1250: *b$\bar{\phi}$kr* 'books' > *b$\bar{æ}$kr* (as in *f$\bar{æ}$r* 'gets').

(25) *Lengthening:* $V > \bar{V}/\_\_$ IC, e.g. *halfr* 'half' > *h$\bar{a}$lfur; folk* 'folk' > *f$\bar{o}$lk* (> [ha^{u}lvYr], [fo^{u}lk] by later rules).

(29) *Diphthongization:* the non-high long vowels *($\bar{e}$ $\bar{æ}$ $\bar{\varrho}$ $\bar{o}$)* develop homorganic glides, $\bar{e}$ in front (> *je*), the rest in back *($\bar{æ}$ > ai, ϱ > au, $\bar{o}$ > ou*),

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probably in the 14th century. In modern Ic these are marked by an acute accent (except for *æ*): *é* [je], *æ* [a̡i̡], *á* [au̡], *ó* [ou̡]. The same mark is used for the highs *í (ý)* and *ú*, which are similar to the diphthongs by ending in a high glide (*i, u*), as do also the old diphthongs *ei (ey)* [e̡i̡] and *au* [ɸi]. We shall therefore include the highs with the diphthongs as [i̡i] and [uu̡]. In Ic these are all classed together as 'broad' vowels, which can be either long or short (by rule 32).

$\bar{e}$	$\bar{æ}$	$\bar{o̬}$	$\bar{o}$	*mēr* 'me' dat.	*fǣr* 'gets' 3p sg.	*go̬s* 'goose'	*rōa* 'row'
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
é	*æ*	*á*	*ó*	*mér*	*fær*	*gás*	*róa*
[je̅]	[a̡i̡]	[au̡]	[ou̡]	[mje̅r]	[fa̡i̡r]	[gau̡s]	[rou̬a]

(Ic-2) *Glide insertion:* short vowels preceding *ng* and *nk* develop homorganic glides *while remaining short.* In each case they coincide with one of the pre-existing diphthongs or diphthongized long vowels (by rule 29), but this is not ordinarily marked in the orthography. So WSc *i e y ɸ a o u > í ei ý au á ó ú*, as defined above, and are sometimes so written. The glide is *i* after front, *u* after back V.

þing	*enginn*	*yngri*	*þröngur*	*banki*	*kongur*	*munkur*
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
[þi^{i}ng]	[e^{i}ngIn]	[i^{i}ngrI]	[þrö^{i}ngYr]	[ba^{u}nkI]	[ko^{u}ngYr]	[mu^{u}ngkYr]
'thing'	'no one'	'younger'	'narrow'	'bank'	'king'	'monk'

(Ic-3) *Unrounding:* *y ȳ ey* merge with *i ī ei* in the 15th century, but are still distinguished in the spelling.

yrki 'work'	*býdur* 'offers'	*heyra* 'hear'
↓	↓	↓
[IrkI]	[bii̡ðYr]	[hei̡ra]

(Ic-4) *Fronting:* short *u* (as shown already in the examples of the preceding rule, to avoid misunderstanding) is fronted to [Y], a lowered *y* (but not [ɸ]), corresponding to the unrounded [I] from *i.* Similarly *ǫu > [ɸy] > [ɸi]*, spelled *au* (cf. rule 13).

suður 'south'	*unnusta* 'beloved'	*haus* 'head'	*haust* 'autumn'
↓	↓	↓	↓
[sȲðYr]	[YnnYsta]	[hɸi̡s]	[hɸ^{i}st]

(32) *The quantity shift:* In Ic the regulation of syllabic length came late, after 1500, and did not alter the system as radically as in the mainland languages.

In general the lengthened shorts did not coincide with the old longs nor vice versa. Both vowels and diphthongs can occur long as well as short, the latter before long consonants (geminates or clusters) in stressed syllables.

vit	*vita*	*hitt*	*hitta*	*hvítur*	*hvítt*	*fátt*
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
[vɪ̄t]	[vɪ̄ta]	[hɪʰt]	[hɪʰta]	[kviːtYr]	[kviʰt]	[faʰt]
'wit'	'know'	'that' n.	'find'	'white' m.	'white' n.	'few' n.

(Ic-5) *Diphthongization before -gi:* most Ic speech diphthongizes short vowels before *-gi* [>-jI], and *-gj-* [>-j-]. The vowels involved are the same as in rule Ic-2, but in this case the inserted glide is always *i*. These coincide with previously existing diphthongs, except for [Yi̯] and [oi̯]. Since they all occur before a single consonant [j], the diphthongs are long.

stigi	*segja*	*lygi*	*lögin*	*daginn*	*bogi*	*hugi*
[stiːjI]	[seja]	[liːjI]	[løjjIn]	[dajjIn]	[bojjI]	[hYjjI]
'ladder'	'say'	'lie'	'the law'	'the day' acc.	'bow'	'mind'

Table 4. Vowel System of Icelandic

WSc	i e y ø a ǫ o u ī ē æ ei ȳ ø̄ ey ǭ ǫu ō ū									
Ic sp.	[I e ø a o Y ii je ai ei au øi ou uu]									
	i, y e ö a o u í, ý é æ ei,ey á au ó ú									

	Vowels				Diphthongs		
	I *i, y*	Y *u*			ii̯ *í, ý*	Yi̯ *u/_gi*	uu̯ *ú*
Ic	e *e*	ø *ö*			ei̯ *ei, ey*	øi̯ *au*	ou̯ *ó*
	a *a*	o *o*			ai̯ *æ*	oi̯ *o/_gi*	au̯ *á*

The quantity shift (rule 32) is not displayed. Both vowels and diphthongs are short before geminates and most clusters. Spellings are given in italics. For further detail see H. Benediktsson 1959, 1965.

2.6.3 *Faroese.* In the ON period there was no distinct Fa norm, but a few Fa features have been noted in mss. stemming from the islands, e.g.

confusion of $\bar{æ}/\bar{e}$ in words like *mæla* 'speak' (rule Fa-1). The etymologizing norm created by Hammershaimb reveals some changes, but conceals others. The rules below apply in order and include some reconstructed intermediate forms. The complexity of the system and the variety of dialects permits several alternative systematizations. We here follow Lockwood (1955) and Rischel (1961), referring to Werner (1968) for discussion. For consonants see 3.6.

(Fa-1) *Lowering:* $\bar{e} > \bar{æ}$ (merger).

$\bar{e}$	$f\bar{e}$ 'cattle'	$r\bar{e}ttur$ 'right'	$l\bar{e}t$ 'let' pt.	$m\bar{e}r$ 'me' dat.
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
$\bar{æ}$	$fæ$ [fǣ]	$rættur$ [rǣʰtYr]	$læt$ [lǣt]	$mær$ [mǣr]

(16) *Fronting:* $\varrho > \phi$ (merger), except before nasals, where $> o$ (sp. o).

ϱ	$\varrho/$__N	ϱska 'ashes'	$s\varrho k$ 'case'	but	$l\varrho ng$ 'long' f. sg.	$sk\varrho mm$ 'shame'
↓	↓	↓	↓		↓	↓
ϕ	o	ϕska [ɸska]	$s\phi k$ [sɸ̄k]		$long$ [loŋg]	$skomm$ [skomm]

(Fa-2) *Unrounding:* $y > i,\ \bar{y} > \bar{\imath},\ \phi y > {}^*\phi i.$ Except for the diphthong, the rule is identical with (Ic-3).

y	$\bar{y}$	ϕy	$synir$ 'sons'	$s\bar{y}na$ 'show'	$m\phi y$ 'maiden'
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
[i	ī	${}^*\phi$i]	[sīnIr]	[sīna]	[*mɸi]

(Fa-3) *Diphthong dissimilation:* $ei > ai,\ {}^*\phi i > oi,\ \varrho u > ei.$ The first is not reflected in spelling, but the others are respelled: oy [oi̯], ey [ei̯].

ei	${}^*\phi i$	ϱu	$bein$ 'bone'	${}^*m\phi i$ 'maiden'	$l\varrho upa$ 'run'
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
[ai̯	oi̯	ei̯]	[bai̯n]	[moi̯]	[lei̯pa]
spelling:			*bein*	*moy*	*leypa*

(29) *Diphthongization:* long high vowels develop a preceding glide, mid back a following glide. None of these are reflected in spelling.

$\bar{\imath}\,(\bar{y})$	$\bar{u}$	$\bar{o}$	$l\bar{\imath}k$ 'like'	$s\bar{y}na$ 'show'	$h\bar{u}s$ 'house'	$r\bar{o}t$ 'root'
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
[ui̯	Yu̯	ou̯]	[lui̯k]	[sui̯na]	[hYu̯s]	[rou̯t]

(32) *Quantity shift:* long vowels and diphthongs were shortened, in some

cases coinciding with old short vowels, before two or more consonants. Short vowels were lengthened before single consonants, in no case coinciding with old long vowels. The special Fa features of this development will be shown in the following rules (Fa 4–6).

(Fa-4) *Merger:* $\bar{æ} > a$ when shortened, $a > \bar{æ}$ when lengthened, without change in spelling, so that both letters can represent both sounds. $\bar{o} > \phi$ when shortened, by fronting: [ǫu > ɸu > ɸ].

$\bar{æ}$	$\bar{æ}$	a	a	$\bar{o}$	$\bar{æ}ra$	$r\bar{æ}ttur$	*hani*	*satt*	$s\bar{o}tt$
↓ long	↓ short	↓ long	↓ short	↓ short	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
[ǣ	a	ǣ	a	ɸ	ǣra	rattur	hǣni	satt	sɸtt]
					'honor'	'right'	'cock'	'true'	'illness'
								n. sg.	

(Fa-5) *Glide insertion:* the non-high long and lengthened vowels develop a slight offglide. The mid vowels get a weak shwa [ə]: [ēə, ɸ̄ə, ōə]; the low vowels a more distinct [a]: [ǣa, ōa]. The offglides are absent before another vowel (i.e. in hiatus, usually created by the loss of following, but written, *d* or *g*, see rule Fa-C2 below in 3.6). The mid-vowel glides will not be shown later.

e	ϕ	o	$æ/a$	$\acute{a}$	*hevur*	*bǿkur*	*kona*	*æra*	*bátur*	but	*vega*	*laga*
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓		↓	↓
[ēə	ɸ̄ə	ōə	ǣa	oa	hēəvur	bɸ̄əkur	kōəna	ǣara	bōatur		vēa	lǣa]
					'has'	'books'	'wife'	'honor'	'boat'		'weigh'	'arrange'

(Fa-6) *Unrounding and fronting:* long vowels followed by *gv* resulting from Verschärfung (rule Fa-1C in 3.6 below): $\bar{u} > $ [I], $\bar{o} > $ [e].

$\bar{u}$	$\bar{o}$		$b\bar{u} > $ Fa *búgv* 'farm'		$n\bar{o}g > $ Fa *nógv* 'much'
↓	↓		↓		↓
[I]	[e]		[bIgv]		[negv]

Note: the diphthongs created by vocalization of *v* are not listed (see rule Fa-C3 in 3.6).

Fa-6 is not displayed. The [a] is found only in some loans from Da, e.g. *tomat* 'tomato', *statur* 'state'. Spellings are shown in italics.

In the official Fa which has been our basis for discussion here there are three unstressed vowels, written *i a u* [I a U] as in normalized ON (rule 4, 2.4.2 above). Detailed investigation (Hagström 1967) has shown that *i* and *u* have merged in most dialects, becoming either [I] or [U].

Table 7. Vowel System of Faroese

	Short vowels	Long vowels	Diphthongs: long/short
	I *i/y* Y *ú* U *u*	ī *i,y* u *u*	Yu̯/Y *ú* ui̯/uⁱ *í,ý*
Fa	ɛ *e* ø *ǿ* o *á/o*	ē *e* ø̄ *ǿ* ō *o*	ɛi̯/ɛ *ey* ou̯/ø *ó* oi̯/oⁱ *oy*
	a *œ/a*	ɛ̄a *œ/a* ā *a* ōa *á*	ai/aⁱ *ei*

2.6.4 *N-Norwegian.* The current normalized orthography of NN is considerably changed from that of its creator, Ivar Aasen. He designed a system of fifteen vowels and three diphthongs, but today the normal practice is to confine the number of vowels to nine (see rule 31). In unstressed syllables he employed a maximum system of three: *a e o.* Of these *o* has been replaced by *e (visor* 'ballads' > *viser)* and in one form, the weak fem. sg., *a* has also become *e (visa* 'ballad' > *vise).* All of these (and other) changes have brought NN closer to BN and at the same time closer to East Nw dialects.

A number of the widespread features of ONw (vowel harmony, rule 27) and of modern dialects (vowel balance, rule 28; unrounding, as in Ic-2, Fa-3) were regarded by Aasen as local deviations and were not accepted in his national norm. There is no established norm of pronunciation for NN, since it has no élite community behind it. Each speaker uses his own dialectal pronunciation base, following the written form as closely as possible. Since most of its speakers are from the Midland and West Norwegian area, the expected pronunciation has this more conservative base. But the leading grammarian of NN, Beito (1970), has adopted an East Norwegian base (while describing the other as well), so we shall here follow him in making the sounds essentially general Norwegian, identical with those of BN (rule 30). Of course, the

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distribution of the phonemes in the vocabulary is often different. For consonants see 3.7.

(22) *Progressive j-umlaut:* Aasen generally preferred the more conservative forms without umlaut, found in some dialects, with *ju* or *jo* (rule 19, 2.5.2). But the tendency in NN has been toward umlauted forms with *y* or *ø*, as in most dialects (and in BN). For the old breaking vowels (rule 13) practice varies markedly: *ja/je, jo/jø,* without much change since Aasen's norm. We list examples first in Aasen's norm, then in the current (most radical) norm.

sjo	snjo	bjoda	frjosa	ljuga	krjupa	jamn	hjarta	bjørk	mjøl
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
sjø	snø	by	fryse	lyge	krype	jamn	hjerte	bjørk	mjøl
'sea'	'snow'	'offer'	'freeze'	'lie'	'creep'	'even'	'heart'	'birch'	'flour'

(31) *Laxing:* WSc short vowels are commonly lowered when possible. In some West Nw dialects they are lowered only a half step, so that they do not coincide with the next vowel down, even when they are lengthened (by rule 32). So ON *vit* 'wit' > [vīt], not [vēt]. Aasen chose to retain the distinction by marking such vowels with a grave accent: *vìt* (in his *Ordbog* with an apostrophe in parentheses: *Vit* (')). Since most speakers of Nw lack this phoneme, such words are pronounced either [vīt] or [vēt]. The accents have therefore been abandoned except when it is desired to keep the historical spelling while indicating a lower pronunciation, e.g. *hòl* 'hole' for [hōl], to distinguish it from *hol* [hω̄l] 'hill'.

i	e	y	ø	o	u	sit	veg	fyre	mjøl	hol	gul
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
ì	è	ỳ	ø̀	ò	ù	sìt	vèg	fỳre	mjø̀l	hòl	gùl
[ī	ɛ̄	Ȳ	œ̄	ō	Ū]	'sits'	'way'	'before'	'flour'	'hole'	'yellow'

(32) *The quantity shift:* The long syllable has replaced the short and the overlong, as elsewhere. But in keeping with ON tradition and the western Nw dialects, NN generally lengthens the vowel rather than the consonant of short syllables: *vika* 'week' > [vīka], written *vìka* in Aasen's original norm, but now *veke* [vēkə]. For other examples see the preceding rule. These are now written without the grave accent, but are otherwise spelled with the higher vowel, except *fyre* > *føre*, and accordingly pronounced with the corresponding long sound. In a few words the East Nw forms are permitted, at least alternatively: *vett* for *vit*, *lett* for *lit* 'color' etc.

(NN-1) *The CSc diphthongs: ẹi ǿy ǫu* have been retained, spelled *ei ǿy au.* The pronunciation of the first element is somewhat variable, but the second is clearly marked as the corresponding short vowel: [ɛi/æi, ǿy/œy, æʉ/œʉ]. Optionally a few words may have the monophthong of BN, e.g. *høyra/høre* 'hear', *kǿyra/kjǿre* 'drive', *draum/drǿm* 'dream'.

(NN-2) *Rounding:* sporadic *i* > *y* before liquids (*l, r*). Ex.: *kirkja* 'church' > *kyrkja; silfr* 'silver' > *sylv* > *sǿlv.*

Table 8. Vowel System of N-Norwegian

WSc	i e y ǿ a ǫ o u ī ē ǣ ei ȳ ǿ̄ ey/ǿy ǭ ǫu ō ū
NN	(i̇ ė ẏ ǿ̇ ȯ u̇) i e y ǿ a o u i e æ ei y ǿ ǿy å au o u

	Vowels: long/short		Lengthened short (opt.)	Diphthongs
NN	i *i* y *y* ʉ *u* ɯ *o*		Ī *i̇* Ȳ *ẏ* Ū *u̇*	æ̇i *ei* œ̇y *ǿy* ɑ̇u *au*
	e/ɛ *e* ǿ *ǿ* o *å,o*		ɛ̄ *ė* œ̄ *ǿ̇* ō *ȯ*	
	æ *æ*	a *a*		

The quantity shift is not displayed in the table. The old longs and shorts are reordered, so that any short may correspond to any old long and vice versa. In the phonetic display spellings are in italics. The new short vowels are close in quality to the long, slightly laxer and more central.

2.6.5 *Swedish.* Sw derives from East Scand (table 3, 2.5.3). By 1100 Old Swedish writing showed the loss of hiatus vowels (rule 15), lowering of ē (16), raising of *e* (17), lowering of *ũ* (18), breaking of *y* (20), monophthongization (21), j-umlaut (22), loss of nasality (24), lengthening (25), and rounding of *ā* (26). Further changes will now be discussed in more detail.

(30) *The vowel shift:* As noted above (2.6.1), standard Sw has shifted its

rounded vowels upward and forward. Although the *y* continues to be written as before, its quality is markedly different from German *ü* and French *u*, with which it is historically comparable. Written long *u* [ʉ] is more fronted than in Nw, and the lips are often narrowed so the vowel ends in a semi-vowel [w] or even a fricative [b]. The same is true of *ō*, which may be [ωw]. Short *u* is quite different, lower and more lax, close to [U]. Swedish phoneticians now often transcribe long *ō* as [ū, or u:], the vowel of Ger *gut*. Because of the difference in lip action (and the tendency to confuse the phonetic and orthographic symbols), we shall here use omega: [ω]. Orthographic *å* is so close to the general [o] that we shall keep this transcription, using [ɔ] for the older, more open sound. High front vowels may correspondingly be narrowed by an audible offglide of [j]:

ī	*ȳ*	*ū*	*ō*		*bi* 'bee'	*by* 'village'		*du* 'thou'	*bo* 'dwell'
↓	↓	↓	↓		↓	↓		↓	↓
[ij	yj	ʉw	ωw		bij	byj		dʉw	bω̄w]

(31) *Laxing:* short high vowels are lowered one (or two) steps before single consonants unless *i u j* follow; also before *rC*. The lower quality is usually reflected in the spelling, except that *o* is often written for *å*.

i	*y*	*u*	*frið*	*vita*	*styð*	*dyn*	*brut*	*kul*	*sun*	*stirðr*	*byrðr*
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
e	*ö*	*o*	*fred*	*veta*	*stöd*	*dön*	*brott*	*kol*	*son*	*stel*	*börd*
			'peace'	'know'	'support'	'din'	'crime'	'coal'	'son'	'stiff'	'birth'

In the words spelled *o* the sound today is [o]. Short [ω] occurs e.g., in *skjorta* 'shirt' from *skjurta* derived by rule 20 from *skyrta*. For examples of lowered mid vowels *e* and *o* see rule 32.

(Sw-1) *Backing:* short *e/æ* > *a/v__r*.

e	*hverr* 'each'	*kver* 'left'	*vera* 'be'	*verða* 'become'
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
a	*var*	*kvar*	*vara*	*varda*

(32) *The quantity shift:* due to dialect conflict and leveling, the rules for lengthening of vowel vs. consonant are complex. A few patterns for vowel lengthening are: *a* and *e* everywhere before a *single* consonant; other vowels before single *voiced* consonants (except *m*):

þak	gata	net	lesa	siδ	kyn	bogi	but	bit	lok	opin	koma
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓		↓	↓	↓	↓
[tāk	gāta	nǣt	lǣsa	sēd	çø̄n	bōgə		bett	lokk	ø̄ppən	komma]
tak	*gata*	*nät*	*läsa*	*sed*	*kön*	*båge*		*bett*	*lock*	*öppen*	*komma*
'roof'	'street'	'net'	'read'	'cus-tom'	'sex'	'bow'		'bit'	'lid'	'open'	'come'

Before *m* even long vowels are shortened: *hēma* (from *heima* by rule 21) > *hemma* 'at home', *tīmi* > *timme* 'hour'.

Table 9. Vowel system of Swedish

	Short vowels			Long vowels			
	i *i*	y *y*	U *u*	ω *o*	ǐj *i*	ȳj *y*	ʉw *u*	ω̄w *o*
Sw	e *e/ä*	ø *ö*		o *å/o*	ē *e/ä*	ø̄ *ö*		ō *å/o*
		æ *ä*	a *a*		ǣ *ä*	(œ̄ *ö*)		ā *a*

Quantity shift is not displayed. In Stockholm (and elsewhere) Sw *ā* is often pronounced *ē*. The glides [j] and [w] are most conspicuous in final position, and under emphatic stress. Note that *ā* is low back. A low *ö* [œ] occurs in some positions, especially before *r*.

2.6.6 *Danish.* Da derives from East Scand (table 3, 2.5.3). By 1100 it shows the same developments as those listed above (2.6.5) for OSw, except that *ŭ*-remains as *u*- (18) and there is less lengthening (25).

(22) *Progressive j-umlaut:* generally carried through, with loss of *j* before long vowels; but not in words like *jǫrδ* 'earth' > *jord* [jō'R].

ja jo jō jū		bjarg	bjorn	mjoð	but	sjō	brjūta	strjūka
↓ ↓ ↓ ↓		↓	↓	↓		↓	↓	↓
jæ jø ǿ ȳ		bjærg	bjørn	mjǿd		sø	bryde	stryge
		'cliff'	'bear'	'mead'		'sea'	'break'	'stroke'

(Da-1) *Merger:* unstressed *a/i/u* (by rule 4, 2.4.1 above) were merged to shwa [ə], usually written *æ* (or *e*), at least by 1100. Ex.: *hjarta* 'heart' > *hjerte*, *rīki* 'kingdom' > *rige*, **stjarnur* 'stars' > *stjerner* (modern Da forms). See also rule 33 (2.6.1 above).

(Da-2) *Glottalization:* as described above (2.2.2), Da replaced the musical accents of CSc with a distinction between glottalized and unglottalized syllables, possibly by 1300. One notable difference is that the glottalization can occur in syllables with secondary stress: *sønnen* 'the son' is [sœn'ən], *svigersønnen* 'the son-in-law' [svi'ɣasœn'ən].

(31) *Laxing:* short non-high vowels were lowered in irregular fashion, though usually not after velar consonants (*g k sk*), before palatalized liquid or nasal [ʎɲ], or when shortened. Early changes (before c. 1350) are reflected in the orthography (e.g., *i* > *e*, *y* > *ø*, *o* > *å*). Later ones have occurred without being so reflected; for examples see below.

In some cases the vowels have been raised: *e* > *i ikke* 'not' (rule 17), *ild* 'fire', *kvinde* 'woman'; *ø* > *y ynke* 'pity'; *o* > *u dug* 'dew'.

i y o		liva	fyrr	dropi	lok	but	klippe	skynde	lokke	suppe	vende
↓ ↓ ↓		↓	↓	↓	↓		↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
e ø å		leve	før	dråbe	låg		[kleb̥ə]	[sk̥øn̥ə]	[lɔg̥ə]	[sob̥ə]	[væn̥ə]
		'live' 'before'		'drop'	'lid'		'cut'	'hurry'	'call'	'soup'	'turn'

(32) *The quantity shift:* this is less systematic than in the other Scand languages, especially in monosyllables. It is not agreed by scholars whether they were lengthened and later shortened or never lengthened at all. Words with originally long vowels that have been shortened have glottalization (Da-2 above): *skōgr* > *skov* [skåw'] 'woods', *tōmr* > [tåm']. But words with old short vowels tend to lack it, which suggests that they may never have been lengthened: *glad* [glað] 'glad', *sted* [steð] 'place'.

In dissyllables lengthening is regular: *glade* [glāðə] 'glad' pl., *steder* [stēða] 'places'.

In monosyllables vowels are regularly short before *m, n, d* [ð], *v/g* [w]: *dom* 'judgment', *rem* 'strap'; *søn* 'son'; *ned* 'down', *ud* 'out', *glad* 'glad';

rev 'fox', *hov* 'temple', *lav* 'low'; *dag* 'day'. They are short in commonly unstressed words: *du* 'thou', *vi* 'we', *nu* 'now', *da* 'then', *ja* 'yes', *er* 'is', *var* 'was', *for* 'for', *jer* 'you'. Note that Danish spelling does not mark preceding short vowels by geminating final consonants; but in medial position it does: *søn* 'son', but *sønnen* 'the son'.

Table 10. Vowel system of Danish

	Short vowels			Long vowels		
	i	*i*	y	*y*	u	*u*	ī	*i*	ȳ	*y*	ū	*u*
Da	e	*i, e*	ø	*y, ø*	o	*u, o*	ē	*e*	ø̄	*ø*	ō	*o*
	æ	*e, æ*	œ	*ø*	å	*å, o*	ǣ	*æ, e*	œ̄	*ø*	å̄	*å, o*
			a	*a*					ǣ/ā	*a*		

Danish has a low *ø* [œ], sometimes distinguished by writing it *ö*, occurring especially before *r*, but also in other words: *smøre* [smœ̄ə] 'butter' v., *høne* [hœ̄nə] 'hen', *søn* [sœn'] 'son'. The *a* varies widely: *ā* is fronted almost to [ǣ], backed to [ā] next to *r: gade* [gǣðə] 'street', *rane* [Rānə] 'rob'; *a* varies similarly, but is more central. New pseudo-diphthongs have arisen by the vocalization of postvocalic *v* and *g: savn* 'lack' and *sagn* 'legend', both [saw'n]. On these see rule Da-2C in 3.9 below. For consonants see table 19 (3.9).

2.6.7 *B-Norwegian.* The speech norm of the educated upper class, which became a model for the orthographic reforms of 1907 and 1917, arose as an accommodation by Norwegian speakers to the Danish spelling. When the Danish models were removed, BN could develop along native lines. The respelling of basic patterns to agree with Nw pronunciation made it possible to introduce new forms from folk speech, especially the East Nw dialects.

A reform officially introduced in 1938 made the norm of writing more like that of NN. In presenting its pronunciation here we shall use the more moderate of the alternatives now permitted in the schools. BN has a distinctively Nw sound system that could never be mistaken for Danish.

(30) *The vowel shift:* as noted under (30) in 2.6.1, this is less marked in Nw than in Sw, and for west and midland Nw dialects it is virtually absent. There is none of the Sw diphthongization of *i y u o,* but there is a similar displacement of tongue and lip positions. Long and short vowels have almost identical qualities, the short being only slightly relaxed.

(31) *Laxing:* short ON vowels follow east Nw dialects in lowering tongue position while maintaining shortness, especially before single consonants. Traditional spellings sometimes fail to reveal the exact quality, especially for *o å æ,* which are often written with the next higher symbol: *sukker* [sʊk'kər] 'sugar', *komme* [kom'mə] 'come', *herre* [hær'rə] 'master, sir'.

i y u	*vit*	'wit'	*biti*	'bite, bit'	*skyna*	'grasp'	*lumma*	'pocket'
↓ ↓ ↓	↓		↓		↓		↓	
e ø o	*vett*		*bete*		*skjønne*		*lomme*	[lʊm'mə]

A spelling like *kost* can represent [kʊst] 'brush' or [kost] 'food'.

(32) *The quantity shift:* lengthening before single (short) consonants follows East Nw rules, which favor keeping the vowels short rather than the consonants, though not consistently. Except for *m* (which is never geminated) a double consonant regularly marks preceding short vowels (contrary to Da).

þak	*gata*	*sið*	*boðinn*	*lesa*	*opinn*	but	*bit*	*lok*	*net*	*kyn*	**nykill*
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓		↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
tak	*gate*	*sed*	*buden*	*lese*	*åpen*		*bitt*	*lokk*	*nett*	*kjønn*	*nøkkel*
'roof'	'street'	'cus-tom'	'invit-ed'	'read'	'open'		'bite'	'lid'	'net'	'sex'	'key'

(Da-1) *Merger:* unstressed vowels are all -*e* [ə], except for -*i*- in certain suffixes; most Nw folk speech has at least -*a* and -*e*.

(BN-1) *Monophthongization* (by rule 21): for most words this was carried over from Da, but in modern times Nw folk words adopted into BN have usually kept their diphthongs, e.g. *sau* 'sheep' (Da *får*), *hei* 'heath' (Da *hede*), *røy* female wood grouse (no Da equivalent). The pronunciation is Nw, even when the diphthongs are of Da origin (see 3.9): *regn* [ræin] 'rain', *høy* [høy]

'high' (Da [hɔj'], NN *høg*). In the reforms of 1917 and 1938 numerous words were introduced in diphthongal forms, e.g. *bein* 'bone, leg', *stein* 'stone' (for Da *ben, sten*). Diphthongs *ai, oi* [oi], and *ui* occur in loanwords and exclamations: *haike* v. 'hitch-hike', *broiler* 'broiler' (chicken), *hui* 'whee!'

Table 11. Vowel System of B-Norwegian

				Vowels: short and long						Diphthongs			
	i *i*		y *y*		ʉ *u*		ω *o/u*						
BN	e *e/æ*			ø *ø*			o *å/o*			æi *ei/eg*	øy *øy/øg*		æu *au*
	æ *æ/e*						ɑ *a*						

Length is regulated by following consonants and is not displayed. For consonants see table 20 (3.10).

2.7   Summary of Rules

2.1   *Definitions*

2.2   *Development of the prosodic structures:* 2.2.1 Stress; 2.2.2 Accent; 2.2.3 Intonation; 2.2.4 Quantity; 2.2.5 Juncture

2.3   *Proto-Scandinavian: vowels;* 2.3.1 Symbols; 2.3.2 Notes; 2.3.3 Ablaut

2.4   *From P-Scand to Common Scand:* 2.4.1 Unstressed vowels
      (1)   Contraction (monophthongization)
      (2)   Apocope (loss of short vowels)
      (3)   Shortening
      (4)   Merger (to *i a u*)

(Fa-4) Merger of $\bar{æ}$ and a
(Fa-5) Glide insertion (after non-high vowels)
(Fa-6) Unrounding and fronting (with 'sharpening')
2.6.4 *N-Norwegian:* (22), (31), (32)
   (NN-1) The CSc diphthongs
   (NN-2) Sporadic rounding of i
2.6.5 *Swedish:* (30), (31), (32)
   (Sw-1) Backing of e to a
2.6.6 *Danish:* (22), (31), (32)
   (Da-1) Merger of unstressed vowels
   (Da-2) Glottalization
2.6.7 *B-Norwegian:* (30), (31), (32), (Da-1)
   (BN-1) Monophthongization

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Phonology: Consonantal Structures

3.1   Proto-Scandinavian: Consonants

3.1.1 *Symbols and inventory.* The older *futhark* (1.2) had eighteen conso-
nant symbols, traditionally transliterated (in alphabetic order) as *b d f g h
j k l m n ng p r R s t w þ*. The runes *b d g* apparently had two allophones
each: stops [b d g] initially and after nasals, spirants [b ð ɣ] elsewhere. *ng*
stood for the cluster [ŋg] and was sometimes written with two symbols
as *n + g*. *f* was probably bilabial [ɸ]. *R* will here be written *z* in the earlier
sections; it gradually changed to a palatal, possibly [ž], and eventually merged
with *r*, the voiced apical trill. *h* comes from a Gmc voiceless spirant [x],
as in Ger *ach;* in PSc it had probably become a glottal [h] initially, remaining
a spirant elsewhere. The phonetic suggestions made here are all reconstruc-
ted approximations.

We assume that PScand inherited the following consonants from North-
west Gmc:

Table 12. Consonant System of Proto-Scandinavian

	Stops	Spirants		Nasals	Sibilants		Liquids		Glides
							Trills	Lateral	
Voice	Vl	Vl	Vd	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vd	Vd	Vd
Labials	p	f	b/b	m					w
Apicals	t	þ	ð/d	n	s	z	r	l	j
Velars	k	h/x	ɣ/g	(ŋ)					

After vowels (table 1, 2.3.1) most of the consonants could be geminate

(doubled), but this is not indicated in runic writing. They could also combine into clusters. Among the clusters that would in part or whole disappear in later Nordic were: initial *hl hn hr hj hw wl wr* and postvocalic *hs ht.*

3.1.2 *Inherited alternations.* (a) IE *tt* > *ss.* The alternation of *t* with *ss* in such a conjugation as ON *vita* 'know' vs. *vissa* 'I knew' goes back to an IE assibilation of *-tt-* to *-ss-.* The inf. **witan* added *-t-* to make the preterite **wittō*, from which *vissa* developed. If the stem ended in a velar, the result was *-xt-* > ON *-tt-;* hence **maɣ* 'can' > **max* > ON *mā,* while **maɣtō* > **maxtō* > ON *mātta* 'could'.

(**b**) *Verner's Law.* Before word stress was fixed in Gmc on the root syllable (2.2.1), voiceless spirants and sibilants were voiced unless the preceding syllable was stressed.

Since the pret. pl. of strong verbs was at one time stressed on the second syllable, a voiced spirant in the pl. stem could correspond to a voiceless one in the sg. Later changes often obscured the alternation, but they are the reason for such apparent irregularities in the verb conjugation as these:

Gmc	**was*	sg. :	**wāzum* 'was –were'	>	ON	*vas/var*	: *várum*
	*fanþ	:	**fundum* 'found'	>		*fann*	: *fundum*
	*slōx	:	**slōɣum* 'struck'	>		*sló*	: *slógum*

The voicing of spirants (C4a4) regularized the alternation in examples like **hōf: *hōƀum* 'raised', **kwaþ: *kwāðum* 'spoke' (ON *hóf: hófum, kvað: kváðum*), etc.

3.2   From Proto-Scandinavian to Common Scandinavian

The most important features that distinguish CSc from PSc (and hence in part from the other Gmc languages) can be summed up in five historic changes, evidence of which begins appearing from c. 550 A.D. in the runic inscriptions.

(**C1**) *Loss of the glides j and w:* (**a**) *j* is lost *initially;* after a *non-velar conso-nant* ending a *long* syllable; and *medially* before a *front* vowel. Geminated *jj* is 'sharpened' (from Ger *Verschärfung*) to *gg(i),* i.e. the glides become pala-tal stops. Elswhere *j* remains, but functions as a vowel, an allophone of *i.*

j-	-jj-	-j	*jara	*jungaz	*dōmjan	*wilji	*kunjē	*ajja	but	*lagjan	*waljan
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓		↓	↓
Ø	ggi	i	*āra	*ungaz	*dǭman	*wili	*kyni	*ęggia		*lęggian	*welian
			'year'	'young'	'judge'	'will'	'kin'	'egg'		'lay'	'choose'
							dat. sg.				

(b) w is lost before *rounded* vowels *(u o)*; before *l;* before *r* followed by a *rounded* vowel; and after *o*. Geminated *ww* is sharpened to *gg(u)*. The *(u)* is lost if *gg(u)* is preceded by a round vowel. Elsewhere *w* remains, but functions as a vowel, an allophone of *u*.

w-	-ww-	-w	*wulfaz	*worða	*hwōstā̃	*hawukaz	*hawwum;	*wlituz;
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
Ø	gg(u)	u	*ulfaz	*orða	*hōstā̃	*haukaz	*haggum	*lituz
			'wolf'	'word'	'cough'	'hawk'	'we hew'	'color'

			*wrōɣa;	*rowan;	*hawwan	*skuwwā̃	but	*sinkwan
			↓	↓	↓	↓		↓
			*rōɣa	*rōan	*hagguan	*skuggā̃		*sinkuan
			'strife'	'row' v.	'hew'	'shadow'		'sink'

Sharpening is PScand; a similar change occurs in Gothic, testifying to very early contacts. The *w* of **hawukaz* has developed from a Gmc *ƀ* between *a* and *u* (Noreen 1923, 235.2).

The gemination of *g* and *k* before *i* and *u* is much later, but still CScand (900 A.D.?), as in **lagian* > **lęggian* above. Other examples: **bugian* > ON *byggia* 'build'; **slakuian* > **slękkuan* > ON *slø̨kkua* 'extinguish'.

(C2) *Loss of z:* z was (a) assimilated to *n* and *ð* before these consonants (*zn* > *nn*, *zð* > *ðð*); (b) after the apocope of weak vowels (rule 2, 2.4.1), assimilated to preceding *s* and *r*, and (after long vowels and diphthongs, sometimes short vowels) to *l* and *n;* lost entirely after *-um* and clusters ending in *l n r s*. Where it still remained, it became a palatal spirant transcribed R [ž?] capable of causing I-umlaut in OIc (rule 12, 2.4.6). By 900–1100, as seen in runic inscriptions, merged with *r*.

(a)	zn	zð	*razna	*gazðaz	(b)	sz	rz	lz	nz	*ausiz	*buriaz
	↓	↓	↓	↓		↓	↓	↓	↘	↓	↓
	nn	ðð	rann	*gaððR		ss	rr	ll	nn or nR	eyss	byrr
			'hall'	'goad'						'pours'	'wind'

*felza	*stainaz	*swaniz	(c)	umz	xsz	bnz		*sunumz	*laxsaz	*hrabnaz
↓	↓	↓		↓	↓	↓		↓	↓	↓
fjall	steinn	*suanR		um	xs	bn		*sunum	*laxs	hrabn
'moun-	'stone'	'swan'						'sons'	'salmon'	'raven'
tain'								dat. pl.		

(C3) *Loss of x:* the voiceless velar spirant was (a) *assimilated* to *t* before *t;* (b) made a voiceless velar *stop* before *s* (except in Icelandic); (c) *lost* in other non-initial positions; (d) *retained* as *h* initially (*x* > *h* probably occurred already in PGmc).

(a)	xt	*axtō	*naxt	(b)	xs	*laxs		(c)	x	*slaxan	*aix
	↓	↓	↓		↓	↘			↓	↓	↓
	tt	ātta	nātt		ks	laks	Ic lax		∅	*slāan	ā
							⌈laxs⌉				
		'eight'	'night'			'salmon'				'strike'	'owns'

	*walxiz	(d)	h	*hurna	*hringaz
	↓		↓	↓	↓
	*vālr		h	horn	hringR
	(ON only pl.				
	válir/valir)				
	'Gaul, Celt'			'horn'	'ring'

Note: In (a) and (c) the preceding vowel was (compensatorily?) lengthened.

(C4) *Spirant restructuring:* (a) *Voiceless* spirants: *þ* was (1) *assimilated* to preceding *l* and *n;* (2) *lost,* with compensatory vowel lengthening, before *l;* (3) *þ* and *f* [φ] were *voiced* between vowels, after vowels finally, and in contact with voiced consonants; (4) *retained* initially and in contact with voiceless consonants.

(1)	lþ	nþ	*gulþa	*finþan	(2)	þl	*maþla	(3)	þ	f	*brōþar	*kweþan
	↓	↓	↓	↓		↓	↓		↓	↓	↓	↓
	ll	nn	gull	*finnan		l	māl		ð	b	brōðir	*kweðan
			'gold'	'find'			'speech'				'brother'	'speak'

	*wulfaz	*hafuðā̃	(4)	*faran	*þornaz
	↓	↓		↓	↓
	*ulbR	*hǫbði		*faran	þorn
	'wolf'	'cliff'		'fare, go'	'thorn'

(b) *Voiced* spirants alternated with voiced *stops* in Gmc and PSc. Initially and after *l m n* they were probably stops in Gmc. (1) Geminated they became stops in CSc; (2) in contact with voiceless stops they were unvoiced; (3) finally (i.e. before juncture) they were unvoiced:

(1)	ðð	*eyððō	(2)	b	*liūbt	(3)	b	ð	ɣ	*gab	*briutið	*aiɣ
	↓	↓		↓	↓		↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
	dd	eydda		f	liūft		f	þ	x	gaf	briutiþ	*aix
		'I destroyed'			'dear' n.					'gave'	'breaks'	'owns'

The result of these and the preceding changes was that voiced and voiceless spirants were nowhere in contrast. The phonemic distinction of voice was transferred from the spirants to the stops. Therefore early ON mss. do not distinguish between þ/ð or f/b, but write þ and f for both. The use of ð and *v* is later; their distribution in modern ON text editions is based on an editiorial decision reflecting the usages of modern Ic.

(C5) *Loss and assimilation of nasals:* **(a)** nasals *(m n)* were lost *finally* in *unstressed* words and syllables, and before the *continuants f r s.* Preceding vowels were nasalized (rule 9, 2.4.3) and remained so, long after the consonants were lost:

m	n	*frãm	*ãn	*ĩn	*farãn	*fĩmflaz	*þõnraz	*ãnsuz
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
φ	φ	*frã	*ã	*ĩ	*farã	*fĩfl	*þõrr	*õ̧ss
		'from'	'on'	'in'	'fare, go'	'fool'	'thunder'	'deity'

(b) Nasals *(m n)* were *assimilated* to following *voiceless stops (p t k)*, resulting in geminate *pp tt kk*. According to Moberg (1944) the change took place between 650 and 850. While it affected all Sc dialects, its effects were less comprehensive in East Sc than in the West. Weakly stressed syllables were generally assimilated everywhere: **mīnt* 'mine' n. > *mitt*, **eint* 'one' n. > *eitt*, **bundanat* 'bound' > **bunditt* > *bundit* (with loss of the second *t* in unstressed syllables). Similarly **drinkan* 'drink' was everywhere assimilated, but **sinkwan* 'sink' > *søkkva* in the West, **synka* (Sw *sjunka*, Da *synke*) in the East. The word **brantaz* 'steep' > *brattr* in the West, including western and northern Sweden, as well as Denmark, but remained *brant* in eastern Sweden. Lat *campus* '(battle)field' arrived in Sc early enough to be affected by this change: ON *kapp* 'courage; contest', modern Da *kap*, Nw Sw *kapp* 'competition' (while as a later loan it became *kamp* 'battle').

mp	nt	nk		*stampōn	*wintruz	*þankjan	*mikinat
↓	↓	↓		↓	↓	↓	↓
pp	tt	kk	WSc	*stappa*	*vetr*	*þekkia* (OSw also *þækkia*)	*mikitt* > *mikit*
			ESc	*stampe/-a*	*vinter*	*tænke/tänka*	*meget/mycket*
				'stamp' v.	'winter'	'think' (cf Sw *tycka*)	'much' n.

In such cases as Sw *vinter* and *tänka* (where OSw had assimilation), the modern forms may be influenced by Ger *Winter* and *denken* etc.

In the following table the preceding five major changes are shown schematically. It is understood that Common Scandinavian is an abstraction; as rule C5 has shown, there were already differences between western and eastern dialects.

Table 13. Consonant System of Common Scandinavian

PSc: p t k f þ x/h b/b ð/d ɣ/g m n s z r l w j (with changes C1–C5)

CSc: p t k f/b þ/ð h- b d ɣ/g m n s r l [u] [i]

CSc	Stops		Spi-rants	Na-sals	Sibi-lant	Liquids		Glot-tal	Gli-des
						Trill	Late-ral		
Voice	Vl	Vd	Vl/Vd	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vd	Vl	Vd
Labials	p	b	f/b	m					(u)
Apicals	t	d	þ/ð	n	s	r	l		(i)
Velars	k	g/ɣ		(ŋ)				h	

For vowels see table 2 (2.4.4) and 3 (2.4.7)

3.3   Old Scandinavian: West and East

The changes listed here often spread across the later national borders, rarely affecting all of Scandinavia. For the simultaneous vowel changes see 2.5.

(C6) *Loss:* h is lost before *l n r* in Da from the 9th century, in Nw and Sw from the 11th; in Fa, but not in Ic.

hl	*hn*	*hr*	**hlaðā*	'haybarn'	**hnebā̆* 'fist'	**hra bnaz*
↓	↓	↓	↓		↓	↓
l	*n*	*r*	*lada*	(Nw Sw)	*nævæ* (ODa)	*ravn* (Da DN)

(C7) *Assimilation:* nn > ð before *r*. Occurs in West Scand from the 10th century, but is only sporadic in East Scand and is often eliminated by analogy (cf. NN *mann, sud/sør, andre,* dial. *are;* Sw *man, söder, andra;* Da *mand, syd, andre*):

nnr	**mannr*	'man'	**sunnr* 'south'	**annrir*	'others' (pl. of *annarr*)
↓	↓		↓	↓	
ðr	*maðr*		*suðr*	*aðrir*	

(C8) *Intrusion:* stops are sporadically intruded between medial continuants from the 10th to the 15th century, esp. in East Scand; cf. Da *forældre* 'parents', *andre* 'others', *mindre* 'less'.

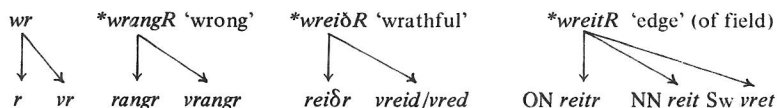| *lr*	*ml*	*ns*	*ellri*	'older'	*gamlir* 'old' pl.	*manns* 'man's' (ON)
↓	↓	↓	↓		↓	↓
ldr	*mbl*	*nts*	*eldri*		*gambler*	*mants*

(C9) *Assimilation:* voiced spirants > nasals in Nw and Sw from the 13th century ð, ɣ > *m*, ŋ/__N.

bn	*ɣn*	Ic	*nafn* [nabn > nabn] 'name'	*reɣn*	Ic *regn* [regn] 'rain'
↓	↓	Da	*navn* [naw'n]		Da *regn* [Rǎj'n] BN [ræin]
mn	*ŋn*	NN Sw *namn*			NN Sw *regn* [reŋn]

(C10) *Merger:* voiced labial spirant [b] (written *f*) and labial glide [w] (written *u*) > labiodental spirant [v] (written *u* or *v*, eventually only *v*). The confusion is observable in skaldic poems and runic inscriptions after 1000 A.D. The exact time of transition to [v] cannot be dated. Dialects have preserved

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[w], especially in initial position, in Jylland, Bornholm, Skåne, and SW Sweden (after consonants). Example: *$\bar{æ}wi$ 'age' [$\bar{æ}$ui] comes to be written *æfi*, presumably [$\bar{æ}$vi].

(C11) *Loss:* w drops before *r* in earliest Ic mss (from 1150) and commonly in West Nw dialects, but not in East Nw or East Scand.

wr		**wrangR* 'wrong'		**wreiðR* 'wrathful'		**wreitR* 'edge' (of field)		
r	vr	rangr	vrangr	reiðr	vreid/vred	ON reitr	NN reit	Sw vret

(C12) *Voicing of weakly stressed stops:* $k > g$, $t > d$ (most of which are also opened to γ and ð). Voiceless *þ* is also voiced to ð in weakly stressed words initially like *þū, þat, þar*. The change is seen in Nw and Ic mss. from 1300, Da and Sw from 1400.

k	t	þ	ek	ok	vit	(þit)	hūsit	þū	þat/ þæt	Sverike	nokon	-līkr
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
ɣ	ð	ð	eɣ	oɣ	við	(ð)ið	hūsið	ðū	ðat/ ðæt	Sveriɣe	noɣon	-liɣr/-leɣr
			'I'	'and'	'we' dual	'you' dual	'the house'	'thou'	'that'	'Sweden'	'anyone'	'-ly'

The [ɣ ð] in these words were written *g/gh* and *d/dh* (only in Ic was ð partly preserved and restored in modern times). For the later development see rules C15 and 19 below.

(C13) *Assimilation of clusters:* in some dialects postvocalic clusters were reduced (in some positions), in others preserved (partly due to spelling), or even intensified (as when Ic *rn* > [rdn]). The clusters most exposed were *r*-clusters (*rn rs rl* etc), where *r* tended to be assimilated; and clusters of continuant plus stop (*ld mb nd ng*), where the stop was often assimilated. Triple clusters (*tns mnt*) tended to drop the middle consonant. The examples below are merely illustrative and are not localized.

rn	rs	rl	ld	mb	nd	tns	mnt	horn	fors	karl	halda	lamb	hond	vatns	jamnt
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
nn	ss	ll	ll	mm	nn	ss	mt	honn	foss	kall	hålla	lamm	hånn	vass	jamt
								'horn'	'falls'	'man'	'hold'	'lamb'	'hand'	'water's'	'even' n.

In Da the spellings *ld* and *nd* remained even after the change and were then extended to *ll* and *nn*: *kalde* [kalə] 'call', *mand* [man'] 'man'.

(C14) *Velar Palatalization:* velars were fronted before front vowels. The change is reflected in Ic and Nw mss from 1250, in Sw and Da before 1300, by the spelling of *gi ki ski*, e.g. in *giera* 'do', *kiær* 'dear', *skieið* 'spoon'. Palatal clusters spelled in the same way (now normalized as *gj kj skj*) already existed before back vowels (*gialda* 'pay', *kiǫl* 'keel', *skiūta* 'shoot'). One can analyze the result either as single palatal phonemes [g̩ ḳ], as commonly in studies of Icelandic, where they still survive, or as clusters of *gj kj* (*skj*). In either case they have merged with the old clusters and share their fate (see the individual languages below); *gj* then merges with *dj*, *kj* with *tj*, *skj* with *stj*.

g	k	sk	*gæta* 'guard'	*kø̨yra* 'drive'	*skera* 'cut'
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
gj	kj	skj	*gjæta/gjætæ*	*kjø̨yra/kjø̨re*	*skjera/skjære*

Table 14. Consonant System of Old Scandinavian (West and East)

OSc	Stops		Spirants		Nasals	Sibi-lants	Liquids		Glot-tals
							Trills	Lateral	
Voice	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vd	Vl
Labials	p	b	f	v	m				
Apicals	t	d	þ	(ð)	n	s	r	l	
Palatals	kj	gj		(j)					
Velars	k	g		(ɣ)	(ŋ)				h

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3.4   From Old to Modern Scandinavian

Some of the innovations that began in OSc continued into the Middle and Modern periods, e.g. C13 and C14. The later changes listed below (C15–19) spread over large parts of the mainland, less generally to the Faroes and Iceland. They have had varying effects on the standard languages. On vowel changes in this period see 2.6.

(C15) *Loss of apical spirants:* þ and ð either were lost or became purely allophonic.

(a) *þ > t* initially when stressed. This appears in Da from 1300, Sw from 1400, Nw from 1450, Fa somewhat later. Iceland was not affected.

(b) ð *> d* initially when not stressed. By rule (C13) *þ >* ð in words like *þū* 'thou' and *þar* 'there', later going on to *d (du, dar/dær)*. In OSw some words followed rule (a), e.g. *tu* and *tin* 'thine', but *d* prevailed, except in the adv *ty* 'therefore' (CSc *þwī̄*). For exceptions in Fa see 3.6. below.

(c) ð *>* ∅ after vowels in many words (and many dialects); the loss is not always marked, since scribes traditionally retained a writing of either *d* or *dh* (the symbol ð being lost by 1300 in ONw, by 1350 in OIc). When it is not lost, it is pronounced [ð] in Da, [j] in Jylland Da, [ð] or [d] in Sunnmǿre-Nordfjord Nw, [d] in Skåne, Dalarna, Uppland, and Finnish Sw. In the standard languages [d] is more commonly pronounced in Sw than in Nw, and more often in formal than in informal language. In Fa medial ð and ɣ share the same fate; see rule C15 in 3.6.

þ	ð	ð	*þing* 'thing'	*þjūfr* 'thief'	*þīn* 'thine'	*þeir* 'they'	*með* 'with'
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
t	d	∅	*ting*	*tjuv/tyv*	*din*	*dei/de*	*me(d)*

(C16) *Loss of h:* generally before *j* and *w (> v)*.

(a) *hj* is so written everywhere, but only in Ic, Fa, and the Da dialects of Jylland is it preserved, and then usually as a voiceless spirant [ç]: *hjól* [çoul] 'wheel'. Elsewhere (and including some Fa words: *hjarta* [jar̩ta] 'heart') the *h* is simply lost.

(b) *hw* is written *hv* (by C10), except in Sw where the phonetic spelling *v* was adopted in 1906: **hwītR >* Ic *hvítur* 'white' [kvītYr, hw-], Fa *hvítur* [kvui̯tUr], NN *kvit* [kvīt], Sw *vit* [vīt], Da *hvid* [vi'ð], BN *hvit* [vīt]. In general, WScand has hardened the *h* (or perhaps the old [x]) to *k*, while EScand has dropped it. But there are Ic and Da dialects (North Jylland) that preserve *hw*, Sw dialects (north and east) that have *kv* and Nw dialects with *gv*.

(C17) *Apical Palatalization:* after short vowels the apicals *t d n l* tend to be palatalized in certain areas, becoming [ţ ḑ ļ ņ]. One is a southern area including most of Denmark (with Skåne), where *l* and *n* are affected: ODa *al* 'all' > [aļ'], *spand* 'pail' > [sbaņ'] or even [sba͂'j]. This was never accepted in the standard language, although it appears in writing from 1300 on. All the apicals listed are affected in a northern and eastern area of Norway, north of a line running from Bergen to Kongsvinger: *sitja* > [siţţe] 'sit', *oddr* > [åḑḑ] 'point', and, as in Da [aļļ], [spaņņ]. While speakers from these areas tend to use palatalization in their standard speech also, it is not considered acceptable.

(C18) *Retroflexion:* the liquids *l* and *r* can be spoken with a retracted tongue tip that has created a set of cacuminal phonemes throughout most of eastern and northern Norway and Sweden north of the old Danish border,

(a) CSc *l* appears to have had a 'light' and a 'dark' allophone, the former (fronted) initially and in contact with front vowels and consonants, the latter (velarized) in contact with back vowels and labial/velar consonants. The 'dark' *l* [ł] merged with a retracted *rð* in a new, cacuminal sound known as 'thick' *l*, which will here be written [ļ]. This is actually not an *l*, since it is not lateral, but more like the *r*-sound of American English. However, it ends in a flap of the tongue (which is lost before an apical, e.g. in *fælt* [fǣļt], more commonly [færţ] 'awful' n.). In Stockholm Sw it is lost, but can be heard from standard speakers elsewhere; in Oslo Nw it is not acceptable in standard speech, but is growing more common. Flapped [ļ] appears to be uniquely Scandinavian (Nw-Sw).

(b) CSc *r* loses its trill before apicals and draws their articulation back to the alveolar ridge. It is common to consider the results of this amalgamation as a set of new phonemes: *rt* > [ţ], *rd* > [ḑ], *rn* > [ņ], *rs* > [ş], *rl* > [ļ]. But one can argue that they function as clusters, e.g. *stōr* 'large' + *-t* n. > [stω̄ţ], just as *fīn* 'fine' + *-t* n. > [fīnt], etc. Contrary to 'thick' *l*, these are acceptable in standard speech in the areas where they occur, which includes standard Sw and Nw. Where they do not occur, *r* is unvoiced before voiceless apicals, e.g. [stω̄Rt], or [stourţ] etc.

That retroflexion is a single process is confirmed by the fact that the areas of [ļ] and the retroflex apicals virtually coincide. They are also the areas where uvular *r* [R] has made few inroads.

l	*rt*	*rd*	*rn*	*rs*	*rl*	*dal*	*folk*	*blå*	*barn*	*fars*	*Karl*	*jord*
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
[ļ	ţ	ḑ	ņ	ş	ļ	daļ	foļk	bļō	bāņ	faş	Kaļ	Sw jω̄ḑ .
												Nw jω̄r, dial jω̄ļ]
						'dale'	'folk'	'blue',	'child'	'father's'	'Karl'	'earth'

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(C19) *Loss of final consonants:* In weakly stressed syllables these were often lost. Among the more common ones *are: -m -n -t/ð -k/ɣ -r.* Only a complex set of maps could show the dialect areas in which they were lost. Since most of them are also grammatical suffixes, they have affected the grammar. **(a)** East Nw has preserved a form of *-um* for the dat. pl., West Nw has only *-o.* **(b)** Final *-n* in the def. art. f. sg. and n. pl. is lost in Nw dialects and in most Sw ones (after nasalizing the preceding vowel and lowering $\widetilde{i}/\widetilde{-e}$ to $\widetilde{-a}$): *dyrrin* 'the door' > [dɸ'ra]: *hūsin* > [hʉ'sa] 'the houses'. On their later fate see the languages below. **(c)** In the def. art. n. sg. the *-t* of *-et* is silent in Nw (and many Sw dialects), but is pronounced in standard Sw: *huset* Nw [hʉ'sə] vs. Sw. [hʉ'sət]. In Da it is [hu'səð]. **(d)** *-g* is usually lost in such adj. suffixes as *-ig, -ug: blodig* [blɯ̄di] 'bloody', but the *g* is maintained in spelling. **(e)** Final *-r* in the m. and f. pl. of nouns is lost in standard Da (*heste* 'horses'); in many Nw and Sw dialects it is also lost, but has not been accepted in the standards of either language. The *-r* of the nom. m. sg. is lost except in Ic Fa and occasional archaic usage elsewhere: Ic Fa *dagur;* NN BN Da Sw *dag.* The intrusive vowel occasionally remains in dialects: *ein dag'u.*

3.5 Icelandic

Changes in the consonant system have been fewer than in the vowel system. Ic has escaped the losses of rules C15, C16 and C19, as well as the assimilations of C17 and C18. It has undergone the assimilations of C13 and the palatalization of C14, without reflecting them in the orthography. But the weakening of final *k* and *t* by rule C12 is reflected in the spellings *g* and ð, e.g. *ég* [jēɣ] 'I', *barnið* [baṛdnið] 'the child'. For vowels see 2.6.2.

(C13) *Assimilation of clusters:* numerous assimilations across the juncture of compounds are not reflected in spelling, e.g. *Björnsson* [bjɸsson], *kaupmaður* [kɸimaðʏr] 'merchant'. Elsewhere clusters have been more liable to dissimilation than assimilation: *ll* > [dl] (except in recent loanwords); *nn* > [dn] after 'broad' vowels (2.6.2); *rn* > [rdn], *rl* > [rdl]; the last two may also be [dn] and [dl].

ll	*nn*	*rl*	*rn*	*kalla* 'call'	*steinn* 'stone'	*korn* 'grain'	*karl* 'man'
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↘	↘
[dl	dn	rdl	rdn	kadla	steidn	kordn, kodn	kardl, kadl]

Note that [d] is voiceless, as well as following word-final consonants.

(C14) *Palatalization:* the palatal stops [gj kj skj] are written (historically) *g k sk* before front vowels, *gj kj skj* before nonfront vowels. The absence of palatalization before *au* shows that palatalization preceded the fronting of *au* to [ǿi], cf. Nw *kjǿpe* [çȫpə]. For vocalization of *g* before weak *i* see rule Ic-5 (2.6.2).

gj	*kj*	*skj*	*gæta* 'guard'	*kæri* 'dear'	*skera*	*gjalda* 'pay'	*kjör* 'election'
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
[g̊j	kj	sg̊j	g̊jaita	kjairI	sg̊jera	g̊jalda	kjǿr

skjóta 'shoot'	*kaupa* 'buy'
↓	↓
sg̊jouta	kǿipa]

(Ic-C1) *Devoicing and aspiration:* voiced stops are devoiced, while voiceless stops are aspirated, so that they should rather be referred to as *lax* (tenuis) and *tense* (fortis). In this way most of the old distinctions are maintained: *b d g* > [b̥ d̥ g̊], *p t k* > [pʰ tʰ kʰ], *pp tt kk* > [ʰp ʰt ʰk]. Only in the southern speech area are *p t k* unaspirated medially, making them virtually identical with initial *b d g* (but not constrastive, since *b* is rare, and old *d g* are spirants [ð ɣ]). Ic has a noticeable prepausal aspiration which affects consonants and vowels alike: *þú* 'thou' > [þūʰ#], *þökk* 'thanks' > [þǿʰkʰ#].

The preaspiration of geminates is a conspicuous feature of Icelandic (shared with some Nw dialects, Faroese, and Scots Gaelic). It sounds like an [h], but functions as a marker of fortis gemination.

pakki 'package'	*bakki* 'hill'	*baggi* 'burden'	*baka* 'bake'
↓	↓	↓	↓
[pʰaʰkI]	[b̥aʰkI]	[b̥aggI]	[b̥akʰa] N, [b̥āka] S

Preaspiration also occurs when [p t k] are followed by [n l]: *vopna* 'arm' [voʰpna], *vatn* 'water' [vaʰtn̥], *ætla* 'intend' [aiʰtla]. A corresponding devoicing of voiced obstruents occurs before *p t k: allt* [al̥t] 'all' n., *mörk* 'woods' [mör̥k] (vs. *mörg* 'many' n. pl. [mǿrg]); but *lk* is devoiced only in the south: *fólk* 'people' [foul̥k S, foulk N].

(Ic-C2) *Devoicing and voicing:* the spirants *f* and *v* contrast only initially. Elsewhere their voicing is determined by environment (rule C10). There is no phonetic reason why *æfa* 'practice' and *æva* 'never' should be spelled differently, and they are often confused. *þ* and *ð* are never in contrast, *þ*

being always initial; ð may be devoiced before voiceless consonants, e.g. *maðkur* [maþkʰYr] 'worm'. *g* is a stop initially and geminated, elsewhere a spirant [ɣ] between vowels, [x] or [ç] before consonants.

f	*f*	*þ*	*ð*	*ð*	*g*	*g*	*g*	*afi*	*fá*	*hafði*	*haft*	*þá*	*góður*	*maðkur*	*dagur*	*dags*
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
[v	f	þ	ð	þ	ɣ	x	ç	āvI	fau̯	havðI	haft	þau̯	gou̯ðYr	maþkʰYr	da̅ɣYr	daxs]
								'grand-	'get'	'had'	'had'	'then'	'good'	'worm'	'day	'day's'
								father'		pret.	p.p.					

Table 15. Consonant System of Icelandic

OSc	p t kj k b d gj g f þ v ð j (xɣç) m n s r l h
Ic	[pʰ tʰ kjʰ kʰ b̥ d̥ gj g f þ v ð j (xɣç) m n ŋ s r l h]
Sp.	p t k/kj k b dg/gj g f þ/ð v/f ð/þ j g m n n s r l h

Ic	Stops		Spirants		Na-sals	Sibi-lants	Liquids		Glot-tals
							Trills	Late-ral	
Voice/Asp	Asp	Un-asp	Vl	Vd	Vd [Vl]	Vl	Vd [Vl]	Vd [Vl]	Vl
Labials	pʰ/ʰp	b̥	f	v	m				
Apicals	tʰ/ʰt	d̥	þ	ð	n	s	r	l	
Palatals	kjʰ/ʰkj	gj	ç	j					
Velars	kʰ/ʰk	g̥	x	ɣ	(ŋ)				h

For vowels see table 4 (2.6.2).

3.6 Faroese

The etymologizing, semi-Icelandic orthography conceals a number of changes, e.g. by using the symbol ð, which never has the value one would expect from

ON or Ic. Most of the changes from CSc were developed before 1700, but the lack of medieval sources makes it difficult to date them. For the vowels see 2.6.3.

(C13) *Assimilation of clusters:* like Ic, Fa has a number of assimilations that do not appear in the orthography. Consonants are missing in sequences like *fylgdi* [fĭldĬ] 'followed', *veitsla* [vaisla] 'party'; with metathesis in *ferskt* [fɛkst] 'fresh' n. For details see Lockwood (1955) and Rischel (1961). Like Ic also, Fa dissimilates such clusters as *ll* [> d̥l], *nn* [> d̥n] after *oy* and *ei*, *rn* [> d̥n]. Examples: *høll* [hø̥d̥l] 'hall', *oynna* [oi̯d̥na] 'the island' acc., *seinni* [sai̯d̥nĬ] 'later', *horn* [hod̥n] 'horn'.

(C14) *Velar Palatalization:* the palatals are affricated, i.e. *gj* (with *dj*) > [d̥ž], *kj* (with *tj* and *hj*) > [tš]. Similarly *skj* (with *stj* and *sj*) > simple [š]. These changes are found before the front vowels *e i y* and the diphthong *ey* (from ON *au*), but not before the diphthongs [ai̯] from ON *ei* or *oy* from ON *ey*. Palatalization or at least affrication must have occurred after the diphthong dissimilation (Fa-3, 2.6.3), when the first had been fronted and the other two backed. This is contrary to NN (and Nw dialects), where palatalization took place while ON *ei* and *øy* were front, *au* back. *Kj* and *tj* merged by at least the 17th century.

kj	*gj*	*skj*	*kemur*	*geva*	*skip*	*taki*	*skeyt*	but	*geit*	*koyra*
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓		↓	↓
[tš	dž	š	tšēmUr	džēva	šīp	tɛatšĬ	šɛi̯t		gai̯t	kɔi̯ra]
			'comes'	'give'	'ship'	'take'	'sheet'		'goat'	'drive'
						pres. subj.				

In NN the last three are *skaut* [skæut], *geit* [jæit], *køyra* [çøyra]

(Fa-C1) *Sharpening:* Intrusive *g* in hiatus and finally. In a process reminiscent of a PSc development (rule C1, 3.2 above), a *g* replaces the glides *i* and *u* formed by the diphthongization of the long vowels *ū ō ī ȳ* and the already existing diphthong *øy*. The initial element in each diphthong becomes the vowel of the new syllable. Note, however, that contrary to rule 29 (2.6.3) *ō* does not become [ɔu̯], but [ɛu̯]; the former is southern dialect, the latter northern. The second element in the diphthong develops a semi-consonantal glide: [u] > [w], [i] > [j]; after *g* the latter undergoes affrication (by rule C-14). A hypothetical development:

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$\bar{u}$	> Iṷ	> Iww	> Igw	> Igv:	*būa* > *búgva* [bɪgva] 'dwell'
$\bar{o}$	ɛṷ	ɛww	ɛgw	ɛgv:	*nōgur* [nɛuwUr] > *nogvur* [nɛgvUr] 'much'
$\bar{i}$	Uị	Ujj	Ugj	Udž:	*nīu* > *níggju* [nUdzU] 'nine'
$\bar{y}$	Uị	Ujj	Ugj	Udž:	*nȳ* f. adj. > *nýggj* [nUdž] 'new'
ǿy	ɔị	ɔjj	ɔgj	ɔdž:	*ǿyjar* > *oyggjar* [ɔdžar] 'islands'

(C15) Loss of spirants: (a) *þ* > *t* by 1600. (b) *þ* which was voiced initially in most Sc dialects when unstressed, seems to have remained voiceless in Fa, becoming either *t* or *h*: *tú* 'thou', *taδ* 'it', *tá* 'then'; *hesin* 'this', *har* 'there', *hósdagur* 'Thursday'. (c) Historical δ and ɣ are written medially and finally as δ and *g*, but they were both lost after vowels, leaving a hiatus before following vowels. For the further development in hiatus see rule Fa-C2 below. Curiously, δ > *g* before *r* and ɣ > *d* before *n*: *veδrið* 'the weather' > [vegrI], *flognar* 'flown' f. pl. > [flodnar].

δ	ɣ	*gleδa*	*blaδ*	*hurδ*	*biδja*	*eg*	*boga*	*drógu*	*hugur*
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
∅	∅	[glēa	blēa	hūr	bīja	ē	bōa	drōṵwU	hūwUr]
		'gladden'	'leaf'	'door'	'ask'	'I'	'bow'	'dragged'	'mind'
							acc. sg.	pret. pl	

(C16) *Loss of h:* Lost before *j* and *v/w*. (a) *hj*, like *kj*, becomes [tš] in most words: *hjól* 'wheel' > [tšoul], *hjá* 'with, at the house of' > [tšoa]. In some words it becomes [j]: *hjálpa* > [joḷpa] 'help'. (b) *hw*, written *hv*, becomes *kv*: *hvat* > [kvǣat] 'what', *hví* [kvuị̣] 'why'.

(Fa-C2) *Intervocalic epenthesis:* As noted above, medial δ and ɣ continue to be written δ and *g* according to their origin, but in pronunciation they have merged. The hiatus is filled with glides derived from the neighboring sounds. If the *preceding* vowel ends in *i*, the glide is [j]; if it ends in *u*, the glide is [w]. If the preceding vowel is *non-high*, it is followed by [j] before a succeeding *i*, by [v] before a succeeding *u*, and by zero before a succeeding *a*. Examples of succeeding *a* will be found above under C15 (c).

∅	∅	∅	∅	*bíδa*	*flýgur*	*suδur*	*drógu*	*soδin*	*degi*	*maδur*	*hǿgur*
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
[j	w	j	v	buịja	fluịjUr	sūwUr	drōṵwU	sōjIn	dējI	mēavUr	hǿvUr]
				'wait'	'flies'	'south'	'drew'	'cooked'	'day'	'man'	'high'
							3p. pl.		dat. sg.		

(Fa-C3) *Vocalization of v:* the labiodental spirant derived by rule C10 (see 3.3) > [w]/__ n. This occurs after short non-high vowels, creating new diph-

thongs: *navn* [nawn/naun] 'name', *nevna* [nɛwna/nɛuna] 'name' v., *hǿvn* [hǿwn/hǿun] 'harbor', *ovnur* [ownUr/ounUr] 'stove'. In view of their limited occurrence they have not been included on the diagram of Fa vowels (table 7, 2.6.3).

(**C18**) *Retroflexion: rs* combine into a retroflex [ṣ], as in *vers* 'verse' > [veṣṣ]. For its sporadic occurrence elsewhere see Hagström (1967: 69).

(**Fa-C4**) *Change of final m to n: m > n* in the dat. sg. and pl. as well as in words like *stundum* [stUndUn] 'sometimes', *gjǿgnum* [džǿgnUn] 'through', *millum* [mIdlUn] 'between'; cf. *húsum* [hYusUn] houses dat. pl.

(**Fa-C5**) *Devoicing and aspiration:* the two stop series *p t k* and *b d g* are distinguished very much as in Icelandic. Both are unvoiced, with post- and

Table 16. Consonant System of Faroese

Fa	Stops		Spirants		Na-sals	Sibi-lants	Liquids		Glot-tals
							Trills	Late-ral	
Voice/ Asp	Asp	Un-asp	Vl	Vd	Vd [Vl]	Vl	Vd [Vl]	Vd [Vl]	Vl
Labials	pʰ/ʰp	b̥	f	v/w	m				
Apicals	tʰ/ʰt	d̥			n	s	r	l	
Palatals	tš	d̥ž		j		ṣ/š			
Velars	kʰ/ʰk	g̊			ŋ				h

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preaspiration marking the first series and lack of aspiration the second. Rischel (1961: xxvi) and Hagström (1967: 70) comment on the fact, noting also that there are dialectal differences, esp. in pronouncing medial *p t k* aspirated or unaspirated (i.e. like [b̥ d̥ g̥]).

For vowels see table 7 (2.6.3). Note that in the historical table above the OSc consonants have been reordered (except for [j] and [ɣ]) to agree with the phonetic table 14 (3.3). Clusters have not been displayed above.

3.7   N-Norwegian (nynorsk)

Nw dialects, on which NN is based, are characterized by palatalization of velars (C14), loss of apical spirants (C15), transition of *hv* to *kv* (C16), palatalized and retroflex consonants (C17, C18) which are not recognized in the written norm, and by the loss of single consonants in weak position (C19). On the vowels see 2.6.4.

(C12) *Voicing of weakly stressed stops:* -*k* > -ɣ and -*t* > -ð, with following loss by (C15) and (C19). NN maintains *g* in its spelling: *eg* (ON *ek*) 'I', *og* (ON *ok*) 'and'. *t* is written in the n. def. art. -*et* and *det,* although not pronounced: *huset* [hʉ'sə], *det* [de͞, de]. In some common dissyllables the silent -*t* has been dropped, although Aasen wrote it: *mykje* 'much', *noko* 'something', *lite* 'little', *inkje* 'nothing'. The old duals *þit* 'you two' (from *it*) and *mit* 'we two' (from *vit*) > *þið* > *ðið* > *de* and *mið* > *me,* with a change of meaning to regular 2p. pl. They are not now used much, having yielded to *dykk* and *vi.*

(C13) *Assimilation of clusters:* with few exceptions these are not expressed in the orthography, which maintains the distinction of *ll* and *ld, nn* and *nd,* even though most dialects have merged them. A few assimilations are established, e.g. *karl* > *kall* 'old man', *fors* > *foss* 'falls'. Most dialects have lost the *g* in *ng,* reducing it to [ŋ], which may accordingly be considered a separate phoneme, here to be written *ng.*

(C14) *Palatalization:* OSc palatalized velars *(gj kj skj)* have variously been affricated (in the western dialects, much like Fa 3.6), or opened to spirants: [j ç š]. Palatalization is not marked in spelling before high front vowels and diphthongs *(i y ei ɸy),* but everywhere else it is marked by an inserted *j.* Other old clusters have joined them: *hj lj gj* > [j], *tj kj* > [ç], *sj skj stj* > [š]. We list only the ones from ONw *g k sk* or *gj kj skj.*

g	k	sk	gild	geit	kyss	skǿyte	but	gjalla	kje	skjor	gjæv	kjǿnn	Skjǎk
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓		↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
[j	ç	š	jill	jæit	çyss	šǿytə		jalla	çē	šῶr	jǣv	çǿnn	šǎk]
			'fine'	'goat'	'kiss'	'skate'		'ring' v.	'kid'	'magpie'	'fine'	'sex'	'Skjǎk'

(C15) *Loss of apical spirants:* þ > t when stressed, *d* unstressed, as elsewhere, e.g. *di* in *difor* 'therefore', *di betre* 'the better' (from ON *því*). For systematic reasons Aasen wished to restore medial and final ð even where it was no longer pronounced; but he rejected ð in favor of *d*. In this way he was in harmony with the practice of Da and Sw, e.g. *blid* 'pleasant', *tid* 'time', *side* 'side' etc. BN followed Da, but often failed to pronounce the *d;* and in adopting folk words from the dialects had written them without: *li* 'hillside', *ski* 'ski', *hei* 'heath', *bu* 'store'. Aasen wished to restore these *d*'s also, writing *lid, skid, heid, bud*. On such words NN has had to yield, accepting forms without *d;* when NN forms have been adopted, e.g. *bunad* 'folk costume', the *d* often gets pronounced.

(C16) *Loss of h:* (a) *Hj* is pronounced *j* (though *hjå* 'at the house of' is often [šō]). (b) *hv > kv* in spelling and pronunciation: *kva* 'what', *kvifor* 'why, wherefore'. *Hv > k* in *korkje* 'neither' (ON *hvárki*).
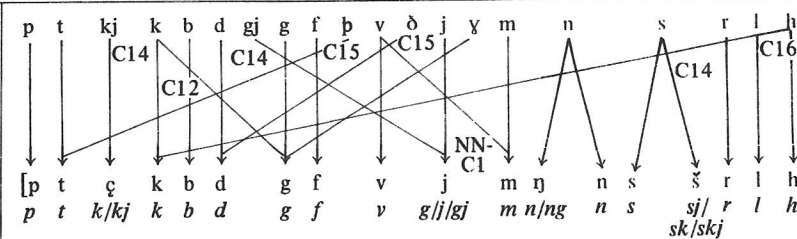
(C19) *Loss of weakly stressed consonants:* As described in C15, Aasen chose to restore them in spelling, with the exception of lost *n* in the def. art. Here he found that keeping the *n* would obliterate the difference between m. and f. sg., as it had in Da and Sw (and in BN). All Nw dialects (except the city dialect of Bergen, and of course élite BN speech) maintained the distinction by dropping the single *n* of ON *-in* in the f. sg. and n. pl.: m. *daginn* > *dagen* 'the day', but f. *sōlin* > *soli* 'the sun' (via nasalization). Since the distinction of *-nn* vs. *-n* could not be maintained (even in Ic), Nw (and Sw) dialect speakers dropped one *n* from each form. Unfortunately for Aasen, the form *-i* is preserved only in a few dialects; nasalization and analogy have lowered it to *-e/-æ/-a/-å/-o*, with *-a* by far the most common. While early users of NN followed Aasen, the form *-a* has now become official and general, with *-i* as a 'classical' form: *sola* 'the sun', *husa* 'the houses', *visa* 'the song' (see 4.7).

(NN-C1) *Juncture shift:* new pronominal forms. (a) ONw *vēr* 'we' pl. and *vit* 'we' dual occurred frequently after *-um*, the 1. p. pl. verb suffix. From c. 1250 forms with initial *m-* began appearing by false division: *komum vēr/vit* > *komu(m) mēr/mit* (or *mið* by C12). By rule C19 the final consonants were

lost, giving *me* for 'we' in western, midland, and many northern dialects. Aasen accepted *me,* but present-day NN uses *vi,* which had prevailed in East Nw dialects (as in Da and Sw).

(b) Similarly, ON *ēr* 'you' pl. and *it* 'you' dual occurred frequently after the 2. p. pl. verb suffix *-ið.* From *komið ēr/it* arose *ðēr* and *ðit* (> *ðið*) and in turn BN *dere* and NN *de* 'you' pl. The oblique dual *ykkr* also adopted initial *d,* giving NN *dykk* 'you' acc. pl., now commonly used as a nom. also. In the dialects the analogical form *dokk(er)* is more widespread.

Table 17. Consonant System of New Norwegian

NN	Stops		Spirants		Nasals	Sibi-lants	Liquids		Glottals
							Trills	Lateral	
Voice	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vd	Vl
Labials	p	b	f	v	m				
Apicals	t	d			n	s	r	l	
Palatals			ç	j		š			
Velars	k	g			ŋ				h

Retroflex consonants are not included here; see table 20 in 3.10 (BN). For vowels see table 8 (2.6.4).

3.8 Swedish

The OSc rules above (3.3) define OSw as having lost *h* before *l n r* (C6),

rarely assimilated *nnr* (C7), having some epenthetic consonants (C8), assi-
milated ƀ*n* > *mn* (C9), merged ƀ and *w* as *v* (C10), maintained *v* before *r*
(C11), opened and voiced weakly stressed *k* to ɣ, later lost but kept in writing
(*jag* 'I', *mig* 'me' etc.), and *t* to ð, lost in many areas but kept in writing as
-*t* (*huset* 'the house'); in both cases literacy has led to spelling pronunciations
(cf. C12 in 3.7). For vowels see 2.6.5.

(C13) *Assimilation of clusters:* the written norm has maintained *rn rs rl,*
even if some dialects assimilate. North of the old Danish border they are
usually retroflexed (C18). OSc *ld* remains in some words, > *ll* in others; *mild*
'mild', *eld* 'fire', but *sill* 'herring', *kall* 'cold', *ville* 'would', *hålla* 'hold'. In
guld 'gold' it has been falsely inserted (cf. Ger *Gold*). When the *d* is written,
it is pronounced in formal speech. OSc *mb* > *mm*/*m*: *lamm* 'lamb', *vom*
[vomm] 'belly' (cf. Eng *womb*). OSc *nd* is usually kept in spelling and (at
least) formal pronunciation: *vind* 'wind', *sända* 'send', *synd* 'sin'. ng has lost
its *g*, making [ŋ] a phoneme in its own right, e.g. in *sång* 'song', *sjunga* 'sing'.

(C14) *Velar Palatalization:* the new palatal phonemes which are derived from
clusters ending in j-glides are structually but not always phonetically identical
to those of Nw (see NN 3.7 and BN 3.10). We shall use the same symbols:
[j ç š], recognizing that they cover diverse phonetic shades, especially the last
two. [ç] is often affricated in the dialects to [tç], e.g. in Finland; this is no
doubt an intermediate stage between *kj* and [ç]. [š] is the most variable, with
three major types: an 'international' sibilant, regarded as 'over-delicate';
a 'standard' type with labialization; and a south Swedish type which approach-
es [hw]. Its pronunciation is a shibboleth, leading to humorous sayings.
A few speech islands have not opened the stops: Gotland, Dalecarlia, locali-
ties in Uppland and Finland. On the other hand, dialects in northern Sweden
(like many in Norway) have opened medial stops, making OSc *stykki* to
[stytçe/styççe] 'piece'. Sw orthography leaves palatalization unmarked more
extensively than Nw, viz. before *i e ä y ö,* both high and mid front; elsewhere
j is inserted.

g	*k*	*sk*	*gill*	*kedja*	*skär*	*gyttja*	*kön*	but	*skjorta*	*gjuta*	*kjol*	*skjuta*
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓		↓	↓	↓	↓
[j	ç	š	jill	çēdja	šær	jytça	çø̈n		šͷtta	jɯ̄ta	çͷl	šɯ̄ta]
			'valid'	'chain'	'sheer'	'mud'	'sex'		'shirt'	'pour'	'skirt'	'shoot'

Other spellings that reflect different j-clusters are *tjata* [çāta] 'nag', *sjaskig*
[šaskig] 'shabby', *stjärna* [šæ̣na] 'star'. Unrespelled loanwords provide a spec-
trum of other spellings, especially for [š]: *schack* 'chess', *charm* 'charm',

shoppa 'to shop', *jalu* 'jealous', *station* 'station', *religiös* [reliš͡ɸ's] 'religious', *dirigera* [diriš͡e'ra] 'direct' etc.

(C15) *Loss of apical spirants:* postvocalic ð is preserved in writing as *d*, but is often lost in speech, especially under weak stress: *vad* [vā] 'what', *med* [mē] 'with', *huvud* [hᵾvU] 'head', *alltid* [allti] 'always', *sade* [sā] 'said', *kastade* [kasta] 'threw'. It is best preserved medially: *glada* 'glad' pl., *kläder* 'clothes', but *staden* 'the city' can be pronounced [stān] and even so written in *Gamla Stan* 'the old town' (of Stockholm). Before *j* initially and between consonants *d* is silent: *djur* [jᵾr] 'animal', *djävul* [jævUl] 'devil'; *äldst* [ælst] 'oldest', *utländsk* [ᵾ't-lænsk] 'foreign'.

Table 18. Consonant System of Swedish

Sw	Stops		Spirants		Nasals	Sibi-lants	Liquids		Glot-tals
							Trills	Laterals	
Voice	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vd	Vl
Labials	p	b	f	v	m				
Apicals	t	d			n	s	r	l	
Retro-flexes	ṭ	ḍ			ṇ	ṣ	(ḷ)	ḷ	
Palatals			ç	j					š
Velars	k	g			ŋ				h

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(C18) *Retroflexion:* Stockholm Sw belongs to the retroflecting area, except (as stated in 3.4) that [ʂ] does not occur. A typical difference from Nw is the retention of *d* after *r: gård* 'farm' is [gōd] in Sw, [gōr] in Nw; similarly *bord* 'table', *hård* 'hard', *jord* 'earth', etc. (BN keeps *d* only after short vowels, with varying pronunciation: *ferd* 'journey' [færd], *ferdig* 'ready' [fæḍḍi].) Dialects in both countries replace *rd* (from *rð*) with [ʂ]: *jord* > [jʊʂ].

(C19) *Loss of final consonants:* many Sw dialects have had the same losses as Nw (3.4, 3.7), but the written norm has maintained them. The *-t* of the def. art. is pronounced, but may often be dropped in informal speech: *huset* [hʉ'set/hʉ'sə] 'the house', *skrivit* [skrīvit/skrīvi] 'written', *ropat* [rʊ̄pat/ rʊ̄pa] 'called' *mycket* [mykket/mykke] 'much', *litet* [lītət/lītə] 'little', *det* [det/dē] 'it', etc. Final *-r* often drops in *är* [ær/ē] 'am, are, is', *var* [vār/vā] 'was, were'. M. *-inn* and f. *-in* 'the' have merged as *-en*. The distinction was still present in the 16th century, when the numeral 'one' *einn* > *en,* the f. *ein* > *ēn* (with a long vowel).

A general rule for Sw (and Nw) voiced stops is that before *-s* and *-t* they are devoiced: *dags* [daks] 'day's', *sagt* [sakt] said, *livs* [lifs] 'life's'. For vowels see table 9 (2.6.5).

3.9 Danish

The early changes from OSc to Sw (3.8) also apply to Da, except that b*n* > *vn* (> [wn]), e.g. *navn* [naw'n] 'name'. Later rules show greater deviation. For the vowels see 2.6.6.

(C13) *Assimilation of clusters:* in the 13th century a smoothing out of clusters appears: *tn* and *nd* > *nn* (written *nd*); *tl* and *ld* > *ll* (written *ll* or *ld*).

tn	*nd*	*tl*	*ld*	*vatn* 'water'	*land* 'land'	*litli* 'little'	*halda* 'hold'	*kalla* 'call'
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓		↓	↓	↓
[nn	nn	ll	ll]	*vand* [van']	*land* [lan']	*lille* [lilə]	*holde* [hålə]	*kalde* [kalə]

(C14) *Palatalization:* most Da dialects maintain the OSc palatalized stops *gj kj skj*. Affrication has taken place in parts of Jylland and in eastern Da (Skåne, Bornholm); see 3.6. The palatal glide gradually disappeared in Sjælland, so that by the 18th century the palatals had merged with the regular velars. The marker of palatalization (*i*, later *j*) was officially eliminated in 1889: *kjende* > *kende* 'know', *skjære* > *skære* 'cut', *gjøre* > *gøre* 'do'.

(Da-C1) *Voicing:* short voiceless stops were voiced after vowels by 1200. The change spread to south Sw and south coast Nw.

p	*t*	*k*	*h̄op* 'crowd'	*ūti* 'outside'	*sak* 'case'
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
b	*d*	*g*	*h̄ob*	*ūde*	*sag*

(C15) *Loss of apical spirants.* Initially Da developed like the other mainland languages (3.4), but postvocalically the voiced spirants [ð ɣ] were maintained. They were alternately written *d/dh* and *g/gh:* [gōð] > *god/godh* 'good', [dāɣ] > *dag/dagh* 'day'. After *r* the ð was lost, at least by 1250, but continued to be written: OSc *jǫrð* > *jord* [joˈʀ] 'earth'. In modern Da *d* and *g* after vowels are either spirants or semivowels (by rule Da-2C below), if they are not entirely lost.

(C16)–(C18) These have been discussed for Da under 3.4 above.

(Da-C2) *Vocalization of voiced spirants:* the OSc voiced spirants [v ð ɣ] were either opened into semivowels or lost after vowels. In general *v* > [w]; ð > [j]; ɣ > [j] after front vowels, [w] after back vowels. The semivowels (glides) formed new diphthongs, which are not generally visible in the orthography: ODa *ǿghe* > *ǿje* 'eye', while *reghn* > *regn* 'rain', pronounced [Rajˈn]. In some words the spirants are entirely lost, e.g. *hu* 'mind' (from *hugr*), and in others a spelling pronunciation has prevailed, e.g. *have* 'garden' [hawə] (from *hagi*).

(Da-C3) *Spirantization of voiced stops:* in the 13th century the new voiced stops (by rule Da-C1 above) were opened into spirants, following the old voiced spirants (Da-C2), but not always coinciding with them. While the voicing affected Skåne, Halland, Bohuslän, and part of Blekinge in what is now Sweden, and the Norwegian south coast from Tvedestrand to Stavanger, the spirantization is mostly limited to the present-day Danish kingdom. It is most highly developed in Sjælland (see maps in Skautrup 1.230–232).

    (a) *b* > *v/w* in the dialects, but in cultivated speech it is preserved as *b* (devoiced by Da-C4): *tabe* 'lose' is [tābə], not [tāwə]. (b) *d* > [ð] or even [j]: *ude* 'outside' [ūðə]. (c) *g* > [ɣ] or is lost: *bage* 'bake' [bāɣə]. Contrary to the changes in Da-C2 the spellings here usually remain: OSc *tōk* 'took' > *tog* [toˈɣ], but OSc *skōg(r)* 'woods' > *skov* [skåˈw]. Sometimes the old and the new spirants coincide: OSc *lāta* 'let' > *lade* [lāðə] and *hlaða* 'load' > *lade* [lāðə]. More than any other single change, this one (with Da-C2) has separated Da from Sw and Nw by making many words unrecognizable.

(Da-C4) *Merger: voiced and voiceless stops.* Voice has ceased to play a significant role in the stop system of Da, as noted above for Ic (Ic-C1, 3.5) and Fa (Fa-C4, 3.6). Voiced stops have been unvoiced, and the distinction voiced-voiceless is maintained only initially, where the old voiceless stops are strongly aspirated: *tam* [tʰam'] 'tame' : *dam* [ḑam'] 'pond'. Danish scholars have suggested transcribing them [dh] vs. [d], but this is confusing for readers who voice *d.* We shall here write *t* [tʰ] and *d* [ḑ]. In non-initial position, however, they are not distinguished and a voiceless unaspirated stop is used for both. Both *tyk* 'thick' and *tyg* 'chew' imperative are [tʰyg], *lække* 'leak' and *lægge* 'lay' are [lægǝ], *lappe* 'patch' and *labbe* 'plod' are [laḅǝ], *rette* 'correct' and *redde* 'save' are[Ræḑǝ].There are complicating factors, but we shall mention only that OSc *sitja* 'sit' > Da *sidde* [siðǝ], while *ātta* 'eight' has kept its *tt,* but lengthened the vowel (or kept it long?): *otte* [ăḑǝ].

(Da-C5) *Simplification of geminated consonants:* Da long consonants were shortened, probably c. 1300. In the orthography this is reflected in the writing of single consonants finally after short vowels. But medially geminated consonants are retained to mark preceding vowels as short: *nat* [naḑ] 'night' vs. *natten* [naḑǝn] 'the night'.

(Da-C6) *Backing of r:* the earliest evidence of a change from tonguetip (lingual) to uvular *r* [R] comes from the second half of the eighteenth century (Skautrup 3.196). It may possibly be a fashionable pronunciation derived via Germany from Paris. The earliest evidence is from Skåne, where it is still strong. Once introduced, its relative ease of production led to its rapid spread. In the 19th century it spread through Denmark into adjacent parts of Sweden and Norway (south coast, plus Bergen). It was opposed by elocutionists and is not standard in either Sw or Nw, but is an acceptable regionalism. In Småland Sw it occurs initially and in gemination, elsewhere the *r* is lingual: *rar* 'nice' [Rar], *herre* 'lord' [hæRRǝ]. Da [R] is often vocalic: [a].

Table 19. Consonant System of Danish

OSc	p	t	kj	k	b	d	gj	g	f	þ	v	ð	j	ɣ	m	n	s	r	l	h
Da	[pʰ	tʰ		kʰ	ḅ	ḑ		g	f		v	(w) (ð)	j	(ɣ/w)	m	n	ŋ	s	R	l	h]
Sp.	p(b)	t(d)		k(g)	b	d		g	f/v		hv/v/w	d	j/hj	g	m	n	ng	s	r	l	h

Da	Stops		Spirants		Na-sals	Sibi-lants	Liquids		Glot-tals
							Trills	Lateral	
Voice/Asp	Asp	Un-asp.	Vl	Vd	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vd	Vl
Labials	pʰ	b̥	f	v	m				
Apicals	tʰ	d̥		[ð]	n	s		l	
Palatals				j					
Velars	kʰ	g̥		[ɣ]	ŋ		R		h

For vowels see table 10 (2.6.6).

3.10   B-Norwegian (bokmål)

In spite of the long-term community of written language with Denmark, the consonant system of BN is quite different. Aside from a few coastal dialects, Nw has not undergone any of the changes listed in Da-C1 to C6 above (3.9). The system is identical to that of NN and closely similar to that of Sw. For the vowels see 2.6.7.

(C12) *Voicing of stops:* OSc *k* has been voiced and vocalized (or lost) in weakly stressed words like *jeg* [jæi] 'I', *meg* [mæi] 'me', *deg* [dæi] 'thee', *seg* [sæi] 'oneself', *og* [o] 'and'. In rapid speech the pronouns lose the final *i:* [jæ] etc. The *-t* of the neuter article is unpronounced (*huset* [hʉ̄'sə] 'the house'), but reappears in the genitive (*husets* [hʉ̄'səts] 'the house's'). Howe-ver, it is pronounced in the preterite of verbs: *kastet* [kastət]. In pronouns it is written in n. forms, pronounced in *meget* 'much' and *intet* 'nothing', silent in *det* [dē]. It was formerly written in *lite* 'little' and *noe* 'something' *(lidet/litet, noget).*

(C13) *Assimilation of clusters: ld nd mb ng* are all reduced to long conso-nants: [ll nn mm ŋŋ]. Contrary to Da, the orthography is historical (by the reform of 1917), distinguishing original long consonants from clusters: *kalle* 'call' vs. *kalde* 'cold' pl., *sann* 'true' vs. *sand* 'sand', *henne* 'her' vs. *hende* 'happen'. One reason for the unphonetic distinction was consideration

for identity with NN, some of whose dialects still distinguish the two. OSc clusters like *tn* and *tl* > *nn* and *ll*, e.g. *vatn* 'water' > *vann, litli* 'little' > *lille*, as in Da (and east Nw dialects). In most words, however *tl* has merged with *sl*, as in east Nw dialects, where both have become [šl]: ON *ætla* 'intend' > *esle* 'apportion' [eslə, ešlə], *vesli* 'miserable' def. > *vesle* 'little' [veslə, vešlə].

(C14) *Velar Palatalization:* contrary to Da, *g k sk* > [j ç š] before front vowels (*i y ei ϕy*); as in NN, palatalization is marked before other vowels by the insertion of *j*. Most loanwords have followed the rule, e.g. *kiosk* [çosk] 'kiosk', *kirurg* [çirʉr'g] 'surgeon'. Not all have done so: *keiser* [kæisər] 'emperor', *keeper* [ki'pər] 'keeper' (football), *køye* [kϕyə] 'berth'. A few special words deviate, e.g. *kiss* [kiss] 'call to cats' (cf. the hard *k* of *katt* 'cat'), *giss* [giss] 'call to pigs' (cf. *gris* 'pig').

g k sk gi	kirke	gyte	kylling	ski	geit	skøyte	skje	skjære	skjule
↓↓↓↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
[j ç š jĩ	çirkə	jȳtə	çyllin	šĩ	jæit	šϕytə	še	šærə	šʉlə]
'give''church'		'pour'	'chick'	'ski'	'goat'	'skate'	'spoon'	'cut'	'hide'

(C15) *Loss of apical spirants:* þ and ð have become *t* and *d* as in NN (3.7), with general loss of postvocalic ð. In words taken from Nw speech no *d* is written: *ski* 'ski', *li* 'mountain slope', *skje* 'spoon' (cf. early NN *skid, lid, skeid*). Contrariwise, written *d* has established itself in cultivated speech in some words, especially in elevated style: *sted* [stē/stēd] 'place', but *stedet* [stē'də] 'the place', *steder* [stēdər] 'places'. The rules for cultivated usage are complex and, from an orthographic and historical point of view, quite inconsistent.

(C16) *Loss of h:* before *j* and *v* it is written but not pronounced. In recent years a few words have been officially deprived of *h: virvel* 'eddy', *valp* 'puppy', *verv* 'mission', *verken* 'neither'. In other words effort has been made to introduce *kv* from NN: *kval* 'whale', *kveite* 'wheat', *kvit* 'white' etc.

(C18) *Retroflexion:* assimilation of apicals to preceding *r* is normal in all east Nw speech, while in west Nw the *r* is preserved, whether tongue-trilled or uvular (with unvoicing before voiceless consonants, e.g. *vært* 'been' is ENw [væṭṭ], WNw [vært/væṚt], *vers* is [væṣṣ] vs. [værʂ/væṚs]. In ENw assimilation is sometimes avoided in the reading of poetry or other high style. "Thick" *l*, the cacuminal flapped *r* [ɽ], has social status as a marker of humor or vulgarity ("folksiness").

(C19) *Loss of final consonants:* traditional BN follows Da (and the Bergen urban dialect) in maintaining the *-n* of the def. art. (f. sg., n. pl.), and so merging m. and f. in a common (c.) gender: *mannen* 'the husband', *konen* 'the wife' (where NN and most folk speech have *kona*). As part of the official program to "Norwegianize" (*fornorske*) BN, the f. article *-a* has been made obligatory in the schools, at least for all words relating to everyday life. Final *-r* is maintained in noun plurals and the present of verbs: *gutter* 'boys', *jenter* 'girls', *kommer* 'comes'. The *-t* of the n. article is written, but not spoken; in the pret. of verbs it is spoken, but the folk form *-a* has been promoted by official decree in the schools, at least for words of everyday life: BN

Table 20. Consonant System of B-Norwegian

BN	Stops		Spirants		Na-sals	Sibi-lants	Liquids		Glot-tals
							Trills	Lateral	
Voice	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vd	Vl
Labials	p	b	f	v	m				
Apicals	t	d			n	s	r (R)	l	
Retro-flexes	ţ	ḍ			ṇ	ṣ	(ḷ)	ḷ	
Palatals			ç	j		ɣ̌			
Velars	k	g			ŋ				h

For vowels see table 11 (2.6.7)

kastet 'threw', *feiret* 'celebrated' have been alternatively changed to *kasta, feira*. There is great variation in the acceptance of such forms by BN writers; they are strongly resisted by those who (still) call their language *riksmål* rather than *bokmål*.

(BN-C1) *New pronominal forms:* BN has adopted *dere* from folk speech as a 2. pl. form of 'you'. An excrescent ð (see NN-C1) has here been prefixed to ON *iðr* (> *ðiðr* > *dere*).

3.11 Summary of Rules

3.1 *Proto-Scandinavian: Consonants;* 3.1.1 Symbols and inventory;
3.1.2 Inherited alternations

3.2 *From Proto-Scand to Common Scand*
   (C1)   Loss of the glides *j* and *w*
   (C1)   Loss of *z* (> *r)*
   (C3)   Loss of *x* (> *h)*
   (C4)   Spirant restructuring
   (C5)   Loss and assimilation of nasals

3.3 *Old Scandinavian: West and East*
   (C6)   Loss of *h* before *l n r*
   (C7)   Assimilation of *nn* before *r*
   (C8)   Intrusion of stops
   (C9)   Assimilation of voiced spirants before nasals
   (C10) Merger of *f* and *w* (> *v)*
   (C11) Loss of *w* before *r*
   (C12) Voicing of weakly stressed stops; 3.7, 3.10
   (C13) Assimilation of clusters; 3.5, 3.6, 3.7, 3.8, 3.9, 3.10
   (C14) Palatalization of velars: 3.5, 3.6, 3.7, 3.8, 3.9, 3.10

3.4 *From Old to Modern Scand*
   (C15) Loss of apical spirants (*þ* ð): 3.6, 3.7, 3.8, 3.9, 3.10
   (C16) Loss of *h* before *j* and *w;* 3.6, 3.7, 3.10
   (C17) Palatalization of apicals (*t̯ d̯ n̯ l̯*)
   (C18) Retroflexion; 3.6, 3.8, 3.10
   (C19) Loss of final consonants; 3.7, 3.8, 3.10

3.5 *Icelandic:* (C13), (C14)
   (Ic-C1) Devoicing and aspiration

3.6 *Faroese:* (C13), (C14), (C15), (C16), (C18)
   (Fa-C1) Sharpening (intrusive *g*)
   (Fa-C2) Intervocalic epenthesis

(Fa-C3) Vocalization of *v*
(Fa-C4) Change of final *m* to *n*
(Fa-C5) Devoicing and aspiration

3.7 *N-Norwegian:* (C12), (C13), (C14), (C15), (C16), (C19)
(NN-C1) Juncture shift: new pronominal forms

3.8 *Swedish:* (C13), (C14), (C15), (C18), (C19)

3.9 *Danish:* (C13), (C14), (C15)
(Da-C1) Voicing of stops
(Da-C2) Vocalization of voiced spirants
(Da-C3) Spirantization of voiced stops
(Da-C4) Merger of voiced and voiceless stops
(Da-C5) Simplification of geminated consonants
(Da-C6) Backing of *r*

3.10 *B-Norwegian:* (C12), (C13), (C14), (C15), (C16), (C18), (C19)
(BN-C1) New pronominal forms

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Chapter 4

Morphology: Nominal Inflections

4.1 Definitions

Nominal inflections characterize those words that constitute, either separately or in combination, the *noun phrases* of a sentence, functioning usually as *subjects* or *objects*. Inflections are mostly suffixes (including zero, i.e. no ending, here -∅) added to a *stem*, often with special (morphophonemic) rules for the manner of their addition. They may also include stem vowel *alternations*, like Eng *mouse – mice, foot – feet*, or build on a different stem, like Eng *I – me – we – us*, or *good – better*; this latter is known as *suppletion*. The nominal word classes are *nouns, pronouns, adjectives*, and some (derived) *adverbs*; they will be treated in that order.

These word classes have in common a *three-dimensional* system in which each inflectional *morpheme* has its place. If we call each inflection a *morph*, we may say that it marks the word in relation to three classes of morphemes: *number, gender*, and *case*. The following table illustrates the system for one adjective, ON *ungr* 'young':

Table 21. Strong Adjective Inflections of Old Norse

Number	Singular			Plural		
Gender	Mascu-line	Femi-nine	Neuter	Mascu-line	Femi-nine	Neuter
Case						
Nominative	*ung-r*	*ung-∅*	*ung-t*	*ung-ir*	*ung-ar*	*ung-∅*
Genitive	*ung-s*	*ung-rar*	*ung-s*	*ung-ra*	*ung-ra*	*ung-ra*
Dative	*ung-um*	*ung-ri*	*ung-u*	*ung-um*	*ung-um*	*ung-um*
Accusative	*ung-an*	*ung-a*	*ung-t*	*ung-a*	*ung-ar*	*ung-∅*

The hyphens are inserted here to distinguish the stem *(ung-)* from the inflectional suffix (*-r* etc.). Each inflectional dimension has a fixed number of alternatives: *number* is either sg. or pl. (rarely dual), *gender* m. f. or n., *case* nom., gen. dat. or acc.

Each of the *morphs* (suffixes etc.) identifies which of these *morphemes* is present, e.g. *-r* identifies an adj. as being nom. sg. m. (case — number — gender). These threse morpheme classes have distinct functions: case is *syntactic,* number *semantic,* and gender *lexical.*

Study of the maximum paradigm for ON of the above adj. shows that the number of different forms does not reach the total possible number of $2 \times 3 \times 4 = 24$. It is normal in ON that gen. sg. is identical in m. and n., that nom. and acc. sg. are identical in the n., that the nom. sg. f. is identical with the nom. and acc. pl. n., the acc. sg. f. with the acc. pl. m., that the gen. pl. is the same for all genders, and likewise the dat. pl., and that nom. and acc. pl. are the same in the f. A potential total of 24 has been reduced to 13, of which six (*-r, -an, -rar, -ri, -u, -ir*) are unique morphs, four (*-s, -a, -t, -ar*) represent two each, two (*-Ø,* -ra) three each, and one (*-um*) four. This merger of forms, known as *syncretism,* is far advanced in ON compared with the IE mother tongue. In most of the daughter tongues it has gone even farther. As long as the system is maintained, however, we must regard each morph as distinct: *-um* represents four homonymous morphs: dat. sg. m., dat. pl. m., dat. pl. f., and dat. pl. n. Only in context can one tell them apart.

The illustrative adj. paradigm differs from noun paradigms in having inflections for all three genders; nouns usually have only those for one gender, m. f. or n., i.e. case and number. In return nouns fall into several paradigmatic *stem classes,* which may have different forms for the same morph, which we shall call *allomorphs.* The nom. pl. m., for example, may have the allomorphs *-ir, -ar,* or *-r* (with or without stem change): *grīs-ir* 'pigs', *dag-ar* 'days', *fǿt-r* 'feet' (from *fōt-r* 'foot'). The regularity of the system may further be complicated by phonetic assimilations between stem and suffix, as described in the preceding chapter (see esp. rule C2b, 3.2).

The gender of each noun is a *lexical* fact about that noun, only slightly related to its reference to male or female or neither. By lexical we here mean that it is a traditional, relatively *arbitrary* fact that has to be stated in the dictionary entry for each word; speakers of the language learn it along with the word. The morpheme markers in adjectives and pronouns are *secondary,* being dependent on the morphemes of the nouns they modify or represent. Pronouns can have the same 24 (or 13) morphs as the adjectives, but are less regular in their formation. Personal pronouns (*I, you, he/she/it; we, you, they*) have, as in English, a suppletive paradigm for *person: first* and *second*

for speaker and hearer, with number (including *dual*) and case, but no gender; and *third*, with gender, number, and case. Each pronoun has only one paradigm, while adjectives have two, known as *strong* (the full 24 given above) and *weak* (a reduced paradigm used in certain positions). Adjectives (+ adverbs) have *comparison*, i.e., derivative suffixes for *comparative* and *superlative* (cf. English *larg-er* and *larg-est*).

4.2   Proto-Scandinavian

The earliest runic inscriptions (1.2) give us invaluable insights (but only glimpses) of a language state in which the IE and Gmc stem vowels that gave rise to the stem classes mentioned above had not yet been lost (Rule 2, 2.4.1). They are too sparse to enable us to establish all the paradigms, so that these can only be hypothetically reconstructed by comparative methods. We sketch below the main outlines of what is known.

4.2.1 *Nouns.* In Gmc a noun consisted of a *root*, followed by two suffixes, one marking the *stem class*, and one the *inflectional morph;* both or either of these could be zero. In PScand one can still see all three: e.g., *lauk-a-z* 'leek' consists of the root *lauk-*, the stem class marker *-a-*, and the morph for nom. sg. m. *-z*. Even then some of these relationships were obscured by phonetic changes, as when the dat. sg. m. **-a-i* was contracted into **-ē* (by rule 1, 2.4.1) in *Wōðuriðē* a name (Tune stone, 5th century). In CSc a merger of classes also set in, as when the sg. of the f. *i*-stems took over the declension of the f. *ō*-stems. In OSc there were still marked differences of declension between the old stem classes, so that nouns are generally classified by these, even after the stem class suffixes have almost totally disappeared.

Following a traditional (if misleading) terminology, we shall divide them into *strong* and *weak* declensions. The *weak* are those that have a stem suffix ending in *-n: -an* (m. and n.), *-ōn* (f.), *-īn* (f.). They are cognate with Lat. *-en (nomen, nominis);* their use with adjectives is a Gmc innovation. Weak nouns have the same suffix in all the oblique cases of the sg. (gen. dat. acc.), and in CSc the pl. forms have been taken over from the strong declensions. The *strong* are the remaining declensions, which are either *vocalic* or *consonantal,* in a pattern that in part goes back to Indo-European and is comparable to those of Greek and Latin. The vocalic stem suffixes are *-a* (m. and n.), *-ō* (f.), *-i* (m. and f.), and *-u* (m.); with the first two we include *-ia* (m. and n.) and *-iō* (f.). Grammars also list stems in *-ja, -wa, -jō, -wō,* but these are like the regular *a-* and *ō*-stems, with appropriate adjustments for *j* and *w*

(Rule C1, 3.2). Consonantal stems are the *root* stems (stem vowel ∅; m. and f.), the *r*-stems (kinship terms; m. and f.), and the *nd*-stems (originally pres. part.; m.), which are weak in the sg. (*-an-*).

The following paradigms for PSc represent a stage on the way between IE and Gmc on the one hand and OSc on the other; a few are attested, but most are reconstructed (with the assistance of E. Antonsen).

New plurals were early adopted from strong classes. Stems in *-īn-* have no plurals.

4.2.2 *Pronouns.* Only the *personal* and *demonstrative* pronouns will be presented here, since they illustrate the chief paradigmatic possibilities. The 1st and 2nd pers. do not distinguish gender, but they have an extra form in the *dual,* used for speaking of two persons. Each pronoun has four cases, but

Table 22. Noun Inflections of Proto-Scandinavian

(a) Strong stem classes (vocalic):

Class	-*a*-		-*ia*- (-*ija*-)		-*ō*-	-*iō*- (-*ijō*-)	-*i*-		-*u*-
Gender	m.	n.	m.	n.	f.	f.	m.	f.	m.
Roots	**daɣ-* 'day'	**horn-* 'horn'	**herð-* 'herder'	**kwaþ-* 'song'	**geb-* 'gift'	**haiþ-* 'heath'	**gast-* 'guest'	**dāð-* 'dead'	**skeld-* 'shield'
Nom.Sg.	-*a-z*	-*ã̄*-	-*ia-z*	-*iã̄*	-*u*	-*i-z*	-*i-z*	-*i-z*	-*u-z*
Gen.	-*a-s*	-*a-s*	-*ia-s*	-*ia-s*	-*ō-z*	-*iō-z*	-*ī-z* -*ai-z*>-*ē-z*		-*ō-z*
Dat.	-*a-i* > -*ē*		-*ia-i* > -*ie*		-*u*	-*iu*	-*ī* -*ai* > -*ē*		-*iu*
Acc.	-*ã̄*	-*ã̄*	-*iã̄*	-*iã̄*	-*ō̃*	-*iō̃*	-*ĩ*	-*ĩ*	-*ũ*
Nom.Pl.	-*ō-z*	-*u*	-*iō-z*	-*iu*	-*ō-z*	-*iō-z*	-*ī-z*	-*ī-z*	-*iu-z*
Gen.	-*ṍ*	-*ṍ*	-*iṍ*	-*iṍ*	-*ṍ*	-*iṍ*	-*ij-ṍ*	-*ij-ṍ*	-*ṍ*
Dat.	-*a-mz*	-*a-mz*	-*ia-mz*	-*ia-mz*	-*ō-mz*	-*iō-mz*	-*i-mz*	-*i-mz*	-*u-mz*
Acc.	-*a-n*	-*u*	-*ia-n*	-*iu*	-*ō-z*	-*iō-z*	-*i-n*	-*ī-z*	-*u-n*

(b) Strong stem classes (consonantal):

Class	Root-stems				-r-				-nd-
Number	Sg.		Pl.		Sg.		Pl		Pl.
Gender	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.
Roots	*fōt- 'foot'	*bōk- 'book'	*fōt-	*bōk-	*faþ- 'father'	*mōò- 'mother'	*faþ-	*mōò-	*būand- 'farmers'
Nom.	-z		-iz		-ar		-r-iz		-iz
Gen.	-iz/-az		-ō̃		-r-az		-r-ō̃		-ō̃
Dat.	-i		-umz		-r-i		-r-umz		-umz
Acc.	-ũ		-iz		-ar-ũ		-r-iz		-iz

The singular of the *nd*-stems is identical with the weak m. sg.

(c) Weak stem classes: (*n*-stems):

Class	-an				-ōn-		-īn-
Number	Sg.		Pl.		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.
Gender	m.	n.	m.	n.	f.	f.	f.
Roots	*han- 'cock'	*hert- 'heart'	*han-	*hert-	*tung- 'tongue'	*tung-	alþ- 'age'
Nom.	-ã̄	-ō̃	-an	-ūn-ũ	-ō̃	-un	-ī
Gen.	-an	-an	-n-ō̃	-n-ō̃	-ōn	-ōn-ō̃	-īn
Dat.	-an	-an	-an-umz		-ūn	-ūn-umz	-īn
Acc.	-an-ũ	-ō̃	-an	-ūn-ũ	-ūn-ũ	-ōn	-īn-ũ

they are a mosaic of suppletive forms. The *possessives* are based on the genitive of the personal pronouns. In the non-reflexive 3rd person they are identical with the genitive, and uninflected. In the 1st and 2nd and the reflexive

3rd they are inflected like adj. on the gen. base, e.g. nom. sg. m. *mīn-a-z 'my, mine' (but the acc. sg. m. is contracted in OSc to *minn*, not *mīnan*, from PSc *mīn-inõ), nom. sg. f. *mīn-u, n. *mīn-at. *Interrogative* and *indefinite* pronouns are irregular, but roughly similar to the demonstrative. There are no *relative* pronouns, since OSc employs an uninflected particle *es*, used as a conjunction to introduce relative clauses. This may be a survival of Gmc *es/ez (cf. Latin *is* 'he') from which Ger has its *er* 'he'), but in Sc it is not inflected. Instead, Sc developed a new 3rd-person stem *han-; it has been suggested that this is a compound of Gmc *xi- (cf. OE *hē* 'he', *hēo* 'she') and *jain- (cf. Go *jains) 'that one' (with loss of *j-* by rule C1 and contraction of *ai* by rule 1).

Table 23. Personal Pronouns of Proto-Scandinavian

(a) First and second persons:

Number	Singular		Dual		Plural	
Person	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd
Nom.	*ek/-eka*	*þū	*wi-t	*ji-t	*wī-z	*jī-z
Gen.	*mī-nu	*þī-nu	*unk-aru	*inkw-aru	*uns-aru	*izw-aru
Dat.	*me-z	*þe-z	*unk-iz	*inkw-iz	*uns-iz	*izw-iz
Acc.	*me-k 'I, me'	*þe-k 'thou, thee'	*unk-iz 'we/us two'	*inkw-iz 'you two'	*uns-iz 'we/us' plur.	*izw-iz 'you' plur.

(b) Third person sg. m. f. and reflexive sg. and pl:

	m.	f.	Refl.
Nom.	*hān-az	*hān-u	—
Gen.	*hān-as	*hān-izoz	*sī-nu
Dat.	*hān-ummu	*hān-izai	*se-z
Acc.	*hān-inõ 'he, him'	*hān-õ 'she, her'	*se-k 'him-/her-/itself, themselves'

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This is used only in the m. and f. sg., the n. and pl. being supplied from the demonstratives (below).

Demonstrative pronouns are based on the suppletive IE *so-* and *to-*, forming in Gmc the bases *sa-* and *þa*, which appear in various guises in the following PSc paradigm for 'that'.

The ON *þessi* (acc. *þenna*) 'this' is derived from *sa/*þ-es* by a North and West Gmc suffix *-se*. ON *inn/hinn* from *(h)inaz* is inflected like the possessives.

4.2.3 *Adjectives.*

While nouns are either strong or weak, adjectives can (in principle) be both. The difference is syntactic, the weak being limited to certain positions, chiefly after def. determinatives (*the, this, my* etc.). The weak adj. have the same suffixes as the weak nouns (4.2.1). The strong adj. suffixes are illustrated for ON above (4.1); by adding the PSc suffixes in table 25 below to the stem *jung-* 'young' one would get the corresponding PSc forms of the adj. Some of the suffixes come from the m. and n. *a*-stems and the f. *ō*-stems, others from the pronouns (4.2.2); the latter are in heavy type below.

Table 24. Demonstrative Pronouns of Proto-Scandinavian

Number	Singular			Plural		
Gender	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.	n.
Nom.	*sa*	**su*	**þa-t*	**þa-iz*	**þā-z*	*þa-u*
Gen.	**þe-s*	**þa-izōz*	**þe-s*	**þa-izõ*	**þa-izõ*	**þa-izõ*
Dat.	**þe-mmu*	**þa-izai*	**þī-u*	**þa-imz*	**þa-imz*	**þa-imz*
Acc.	**þa-nõ*	**þõ*	**þa-t*	**þa-n*	**þā-z*	**þa-u*

Comparison is marked by the productive suffix *-ōz-* for the comparative, *-ōs-t-* for the superlative; and in a limited group of words by *-iz-* and *-is-t-* respectively. The comp. always has weak inflection, the superl. may have either. Examples in the nom. sg. m. in Table 26.

Table 25. Adjective Inflections of Proto-Scandinavian

Number	Singular			Plural		
Gender	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.	n.
Nom.	*-a-z*	*-u*	*-a-t*	*-a-iz*	*-ō-z*	*-u*
Gen.	*-a-s*	*-a-izōz*	*-a-s*	*-a-izō*	*-a-izō*	*-a-izō*
Dat.	*-u-mmu*	*-a-izai*	*-u-mmu*	*-a-mz*	*-ō-mz*	*-a-mz*
Acc.	*-inȭ*	*-ȭ*	*-a-t*	*-a-n*	*-ō-z*	*-u*

Table 26. Comparative Inflections of Proto-Scandinavian

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
witr-a-z 'wise'	*witr-ōz-ã̄* '(the) wiser'	*witr-ōs-t-az* 'wisest'
lang-a-z 'long'	*lang-iz-ã̄* '(the) longer'	*lang-is-t-az* 'longest'

4.2.4 *Adverbs.* A number of these are derived from adj. merely by adding the suffix *-at,* so that they are formally identical with the nom. sg. n. of corresponding adj. In the comp. and superl. these are identical with the corresponding adj. (i.e. without any *-at*). The comparative suffixes may also be added to certain adverbs, giving e.g. -from **apt-* 'back' such alternatives as **apt-ōz-ã̄* (ON *aptari*) or **apt-iz-ã̄* (ON *eptri*) '(the) hind, (the) later'.

4.3   Common Scandinavian

From the hypothetical PSc presented above there were many changes down to the actually documented OSc paradigms of OIc, ONw, OSw, ODa, and OGu. These included the general shortening of words through loss of stem vowels and other suffixes, and the reduction of long vowels to short (Rules 1–5, 2.4.1), as well as the assimilation of consonants in weak syllables (Rules C1 ff., 3.2). There were analogical changes in the morphological structure, but no major break until the end of the OSc period. The loss of explicit suf-

fix markers was partly compensated for by the new vowel alternations in stem syllables due to umlaut and breaking (Rules 10–14, 2.4.6).

The forms here presented as "Common" Sc are not identical with any one of the written norms, though they are closest to those of OIc, as the most conservative of them. Long vowels will continue to be marked by a macron: *fōtr* rather than *fótr* 'foot' and long consonants by gemination, at least as long as this opposition remained phonemic. The suffix *-r* is so written, even though an epenthetic vowel developed quite early (Rule 23, 2.5.2): *fiskr* 'fish' > *fisker* in OSw, *fiskur* in OIc. The unstressed vowels will be written *a i u* even though they tended to become *æ e o* in some or all words (Rule 33 ff., 2.6.1). Semivocalic *j* and *w* will be written *i* and *u* as in the mss. on the assumption that they were still allophones of vocalic *i* and *u* (Rule C1). Umlaut is assumed to have worked uniformly, as in OIc, which of course is a simplification (as shown in Rules 12 and 14, 2.4.6); their products will be written *ę* (not *æ*), *ǫ* (not *ā̃*), *ø* (not *œ*), *ø̨* (combined *i* and *u*-umlaut), and *y*, as presented in the vowel chart of 2.4.4. When forms are cited in traditional OIc normalization, they will be designated as ON (for Old Norse).

4.3.1 *Nouns.* These are some of the major levelings: (a) In the sg. *a-, i-,* some *u-,* and the root stems have merged in the m., giving a gen. either in *-s* or *-ar* and a dat. either in *-i* or *-Ø*, while the f. have merged *ō-, i-,* and root stems to *-ar* in the gen. and *-Ø* or *-u* in the dat. Some i-stems are umlauted in all forms (*gęst-*), others in none (*dāþ-*). (b) In the pl. the m. weak stems have adopted the forms of m. strong stems, while the f. weak stems have adopted *-r* from the f. strong stems; *iō*-stems have adopted the forms of *ō*-stems. The gen. and dat. pl. have completed their leveling to become *-a* and *-um* respectively in all genders and classes.

4.3.2 *The suffixed definite article.* In the CSc period the demonstrative pronoun **hinaz (> hinn > inn)* developed into a definite article. The peculiarity in Sc was that by virtue of frequent use after the noun, juncture disappeared, and it was attached to the noun as an *enclitic.* Eventually it became part of the inflection. Although the same phenomenon is known from the Balkans (Romanian, Bulgarian, Albanian), CScand is the only Germanic language in which *suffixation* developed. One important difference is that CScand also followed the other Germanic languages in making the *demonstrative pronoun* (*sa* and its forms) into a definite article, used before *adjectives.* In this way Scandinavian acquired two competing articles (for their syntax see 6.9.3).

We are here concerned only with the article that became a suffix.

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Table 27. Noun Inflections of Common Scandinavian

(a) Strong stem classes (vocalic):

Class	-a-		-ia-		-ō-	-iō-	-i-		-u-
Gender	m.	n.	m.	n.	f.	f.	m.	f.	m.
Roots	dag- 'day'	horn- 'horn'	hirþ- 'herder'	kuæþ- 'song'	giaf- 'gift'	heiþ- 'heath'	gest- 'guest'	dāþ- 'deed'	*skeld- 'shield'
Nom.Sg.	dag-r	horn	hirþ-ir	kuæþ-i	giof	heiþ-r	gest-r	dāþ	skiǫld-r
Gen.	dag-s	horn-s	hirþ-is	kuæþ-is	giaf-ar	heiþ-ar	gest-s	dāþ-ar	skiald-ar
Dat.	dęg-i	horn-i	hirþ-i	kuæþ-i	giof	heiþ-i	gest-i	dāþ	skild-i
Acc.	dag	horn	hirþ-i	kuæþ-i	giof	heiþ-i	gest	dāþ	skiǫld
Nom.Pl.	dag-ar	horn	hirþ-ar	kuæþ-i	giaf-ar	heiþ-ar	gest-ir	dāþ-ir	skild-ir
Gen.	dag-a	horn-a	hirþ-a	kuæþ-a	giaf-a	heiþ-a	gest-a	dāþ-a	skiald-a
Dat.	dag-um	horn-um	hirþ-um	kuæþ-um	giaf-um	heiþ-um	gest-um	dāþ-um	skiald-um
Acc.	dag-a	horn	hirþ-a	kuæþ-i	giaf-ar	heiþ-ar	gest-i	dāþ-ir	skiald-u

U-umlaut before preserved *u* will have to be added for OIc, giving (by rule 14, 2.4.6, 2.5.1) *dǫgum, skiǫldum* etc. In OSw -*er* had already entered for -*r*, e.g. *dager* for *dagr*, while in the m. and f. pl. the -*r* was often lost.

(b) Strong stem classes (consonantal):

Class	Root-stems				-r				-nd
Number	Sg.		Pl.		Sg.		Pl.		Pl.
Gender	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.
Roots	*fōt-* 'foot'	*bōk-* 'book'	*fø̄t-*	*bø̄k-*	*faþ-r* 'father'	*mōþ-r* 'mother'	*feþ-r*	*mø̄þ-r*	*bø̄nd-* 'farmers'
Nom.	*fōt-r*	*bōk*	*fø̄t-r*	*bø̄k-r*	*faþ-i-r*	*mōþ-i-r*	*feþ-r*	*mø̄þ-r*	*bø̄nd-r*
Gen.	*fōt-ar*	*bōk-ar*	*fōt-a*	*bōk-a*	*faþ-u-r*	*mōþ-u-r*	*feþ-r-a*	*mø̄þ-r-a*	*bōnd-a*
Dat.	*fø̄t-i*	*bōk*	*fōt-um*	*bōk-um*	*faþ-u-r* (*feþ-r*)	*mōþ-u-r*	*feþ-r-um*	*mø̄þ-r-um*	*bōnd-um*
Acc.	*fōt*	*bōk*	*fø̄t-r*	*bø̄k-r*	*faþ-u-r*	*mōþ-u-r*	*feþ-r*	*mø̄þ-r*	*bø̄nd-r*

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(c) Weak stem classes:

Class	-an				-ōn		-īn
Number	Sg.		Pl.		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.
Gender	m.	n.	m.	n.	f.	f.	f.
Roots	han- 'cock'	hiart- 'heart'	han-	hiart-	tung- 'tongue'	tung-	ell- 'age'
Nom.	*han-i*	*hiart-a*	*han-ar*	*hiart-u*	*tung-a*	*tung-ur*	*ell-i*
Gen.	*han-a*	*hiart-a*	*han-a*	*hiart-na*	*tung-u*	*tung-na*	*ell-i*
Dat.	*han-a*	*hiart-a*	*han-um*	*hiart-um*	*tung-u*	*tung-um*	*ell-i*
Acc.	*han-a*	*hiart-a*	*han-a*	*hiart-u*	*tung-u*	*tung-ur*	*ell-i*

Main rule: -*inn* is suffixed to the inflected noun in a form that agrees with the noun in case, number, and gender.

> *dag-r* + -*inn* > *dag-r-inn* 'the day'
> *dag-s* + - -*ins* > *dag-s-ins* 'the day's'

Under certain conditions the -*i*- of the article is lost:

(a) After weakly stressed vowels:

> *auga* + -*it* > *auga-t* 'the eye' nom. acc. sg.
> *auga* + -*inu* > *auga-nu* 'the eye' dat. sg.

but   *trē* + -*it* > *trē-ît* 'the tree' nom. acc. sg.

(b) After all vowels and plural -*r* or dat. -*um* (minus the -*m*), if the art. is dissyllabic:

> *trē* + -*in-u* > *trē-nu* 'the tree' dat. sg.
> *ulf-ar* + -*in-ir* > *ulf-ar-n-ir* 'the wolves' nom. pl.
> *nǣt-r* + -*in-ar* > *nǣt-r-n-ar* 'the nights' nom. acc. pl.
> *aug-um* + -*in-um* > *aug-u-n-um* 'the eyes' dat. pl.

but   *giaf-ar* + -*in-nar* > *giaf-ar-in-nar* 'the gift's' gen. sg.

In ESc the dat. pl. has a different form: *stenumin,* cf. WSc *steinunum* 'for the stones'. Both could be derived from earlier **stain-um-in-um,* with loss of different syllables.

4.3.3 *Pronouns.* The *personal* pron. show a split between WSc *ek* and ESc *jak* 'I' (from *eka* with breaking), WSc *vēr* and ESc *vīr* 'we', WSc *ēr* and ESc *īr* 'you' pl. ESc seems to have selected stressed forms close to those of PSc, while WSc has weakened forms derived from **ek, *wiz, *jiz.* The change of z to ð in **izwiz* (> WSc *yþr,* ESc *iþr*) is unique (C2, 3.2) and has been described as a dissimilation. A series of changes led from **uns-aru* to *vār: *unsar* (2) > **ŏ̃zar* (C5) > **ŏ̃rar* (C2) > **ōrar* (24) > **ōar* > **oār* > **wār* > *vār* (C10). The hiatus stress shift may be related to rule (15), 2.5.2.

Table 28. Personal Pronouns of Common Scandinavian

(a) First and second persons:

Number	Singular		Dual		Plural	
Person	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd
Nom.	*ek /iak*	*þū*	*vit*	*it*	*vēr/vīr*	*ēr/īr*
Gen.	*mīn*	*þīn*	*okkar*	*ykkar*	*vār*	*yþ(v)ar /iþar*
Dar.	*mēr*	*þer*	*okkr*	*ykkr*	*ōss*	*yþr /iþr*
Acc.	*mik*	*þik*	*okkr*	*ykkr*	*ōss*	*yþr /iþr*

Note that in each language there is a trend to developing forms of the lp. and 2p. pl. with initial consonants from the verb endings (see rules NN-C1 and DN-C1; also Sw *ni* 'you' pl.).

(b) Third person sg. m. and f., and refl. sg. and pl. (for rest see dem. pron.).

	M. sg.	F. sg.	Refl. sg. and pl.
Nom.	*hann*	*hǫn*	—
Gen.	*hāns*	*hęnnar*	*sīn*
Dat.	*hǫnum /hānum*	*hęnni*	*sēr*
Acc.	*hann*	*hana*	*sik*

The use of *sīn* as a reflexive poss. pron. *sinn, sīn, sitt* distinguished from *hāns* and *hęnnar* is a specially Sc feature; the cognate Ger *sein* 'his, her, its' has both meanings. See the syntax (6.9.1d).

(c) The *demonstrative sa* (above 4.2.2) developed a CSc paradigm, from which the forms in *s-* were gradually eliminated in favor of those in *þ-*. The n. *þat* also was used for 'it', and the pl. *þeir* etc. for 'they'.

The f. nom. and acc. pl. *þ̄ęr* (ON *þær*) is a WSc form due to R-umlaut (Rule 12).

(d) The dem. pron. 'this' is formed partly by adding *-se* to the preceding (as in WGmc), partly *-a*, a specially Nordic suffix, and is then given a variety

Table 29. Demonstrative Pronoun *sā/þann* in Common Scand

Number	Singular			Plural		
Gender	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.	n.
Nom.	*sā(r)/þan(n)*	*sū/þan(n)*	*þat*	*þeir*	*þēr/þār*	*þau*
Gen.	*þes(s)*	*þeir(r)ar*	*þes(s)*	←——————*þeir(r)a*——————→		
Dat.	*þeim*	*þeir(r)i*	*þ(v)ī̄, þȳ*	←——————*þeim*——————→		
Acc.	*þan(n)*	*þā̄*	*þat*	*þā̄*	*þēr/þār*	*þau*

of adjectival inflections, which makes it impossible to set up a CSc paradigm. Runic inscriptions of the 11th century show a prevalence of acc. sg. m. *þansi* in the Danish area (incl. Skåne), *þina* (i.e. *þenna*) in the Swedish Uppland area, reflecting the two suffixes. The n. sg. retained the underlying -*t*, giving *þetta*, the m. nom. acc. sg. the -*n*, giving *þenna*, while most other forms, including the entire pl. developed a base in -*s* (prob. by assimilation of -*ns*- and -*rs*-), giving *þessi* etc. A common paradigm developed, approximately that of ON, which prevailed (in OSw the -*e*- is usually -*æ*- and the -*i* is -*e*):

Table 30. Demonstrative Pronoun *þessi/þenni* in Common Scand

Number	Singular			Plural		
Gender	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.	n.
Nom	*þessi/þenni* *(sāsi, sjā̄)*	*þessi*	*þetta*	*þessir*	*þessa(r)*	*þessi*
Gen.	*þessa*	*þessa(r)*	*þessa*	←——————*þessa*——————→		
Dat.	*þessum/þēma*	*þessi*	*þessu*	←——————*þessum/þēma*——————→		
Acc.	*þenna/þansi*	*þessa*	*þetta*	*þessa*	*þessa(r)*	*þessi*

(e) The *interrogative* pronouns are *hwā̄* 'who' (replaced in WSc by *hwęrr*), *hwat* 'what', *hwār(r)* 'which (of two)', *hwī̄* 'for what, why', *hwī̄-līkr* 'what

kind (of)'. The dat. of *hwā/hwat* is WSc *hveim*/ESc *hvēm,* which had taken over the nom. 'who' already in OSw.

(f) The *indefinite* pronouns include *einn* 'one', *sumr* 'some', *hwęrr* 'each', *nakkwarr* (contraction of *ne wait ek hwārr* I don't know which) 'someone', *einn-hwęrr* 'anyone', *hwarr-tweggja* 'one of two, both'. By means of a suffix *-gi* (related to Gothic *-hun* by ablaut) meaning 'any', the pron. *engi* 'no one' n. *ekki* 'nothing' were formed from **ein-gi, *eit-gi,* acquiring negative meaning from a preceding *ne* that was later lost (cf. French *ne...pas*). Other derivatives of *-gi* were *manngi* 'no one', *w̨ettki* 'nothing', *hwatki* 'anything', *hwergi* 'anyone', *hwārgi* 'anyone', 'no one'. (See also 2.2.5 above).

(g) The *numbers* 1–4 were inflected as pronouns. The stems **ain-* 'one', **twai-* 'two', **þrī-* 'three' and **feþura-* 'four' developed into m. nom. *einn, tweir* (acc. *twā*), *þrīr, fīorir* (n. *fiogur/fiugur*). In the gen. pl. 'two' is *tweggia,* 'three' is *þriggia* (C1). 'Four' shows breaking (rule 13, 2.4.6); a sporadic loss of *ð* before *r;* and change to *g* medially. *Bāþir* 'both' (n. *bǣþi*) is a compound of **bai* 'both' (from which gen. pl. *beggia* by rule C1) and **þair* 'they, those', n. **þīu.*

4.3.4 *Adjectives.* The inflectional structure is unchanged, in spite of syncope (Rule 2).

The *strong* paradigm (raised ᵘ means that *u*-umlaut applies):

Table 31. Adjective Inflections in Common Scand

Number	Singular			Plural		
Gender	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.	n.
Nom.	-*r*	-∅ᵘ	-*t*	-*ir*	-*ar*	-∅ᵘ
Gen.	-*s*	-*rar*	-*s*	←————— -*ra* ————→		
Dat.	-*um*	-*ri*	-*u*	←————— -*um* ————→		
Acc.	-*an*	-*a*	-*t*	-*a*	-*ar*	-∅ᵘ

The *weak* paradigm

Nom.	-*i*	-*a*	-*a*	←————— -*u* ————→		
Obl.	-*a*	-*u*	-*a*	←————— -*u(m)* ————→		

On the *assimilations* occurring when -*r* (from *z* > R) is added to the stem
e.g. **stōl*-R > *stōl-l* 'chair' see rule C2 (3.2). Some adj. end in final glides
(**-j-*, **-w-*), which are kept only before non-homorganic vowels, e.g. **miðj-*
'mid' > *mið-r*, but *miðj-an; *falw-* 'pale' > *fǫl-r*, but *fǫlv-ir* (rule C1, 3.2).
There are special rules for syncope in dissyllabic adjectives, e.g. *gamall* nom.
sg. m. 'old' > *gamlir* nom. pl. m. (rule 2, 2.4).

The suffixes of *comparison* have become -*ar*- and -*ast*-, as in *vitrari* nom.
sg. m. 'wiser' and *vitrastr* nom. sg. m. 'wisest'; and -*ir*--and -*ist*-, as in *lęngri*
'longer' and *lęngstr* 'longest', and in certain adverbs, e.g. *innri* 'inner', *innstr*
'innermost'. Adverbs derived from adj. end in -*t* (only in the positive form),
with all the rules of assimilation applying, e.g. **gōð-t* > *gott* 'well' (rule
C4b, 3.2).

4.4   From Old to Modern Scandinavian

As early as 1350 the oldest writing traditions, especially in Denmark, show
considerable merger of the units in the morphological structure. The slow,
stepwise development which had previously appeared from time to time now
became a landslide in the mainland languages. It appears to have spread from
the south, where contact with neighboring Gmc languages (Low German,
English) was strongest. They were going through a similar development. Lan-
guage contact has a tendency to level out minor differences, especially in
the morphology, and among closely related languages. The change took its
time, moving from place to place in reaching the outlying areas. Some have
been left almost intact to the present, e.g. Dalecarlia in Sweden, Setesdal
in Norway, the Faroes, and Iceland. The changes are greatest in Denmark and
the coastal areas of the Scandinavian peninsula, less in the inland dialects
of Sweden and Norway. Trade routes have spread linguistic innovations
along with more material goods.

4.4.1 *Nouns.* The changes have been greatest in the *case* system, less in
gender, and very few in the *number* system.

(a) The *case system* has changed from one that marked syntactic relations
by suffixes to one that marks them mostly by prepositions and word order.
An ON sentence *Gaf konan mat hundinum* 'the woman gave food to the dog'/
'the woman gave the dog food' can be arranged in several different orders
because each noun is clearly case-marked, nom. acc. dat., respectively. In a
modern Sc language (with some exceptions for Ic) the order given above can
only mean a *question.* A *statement* would normally begin with the subject,

followed by the verb, the indirect object, and the direct object, e.g. BN *Konen gav hunden mat,* or with a preposition marking the indirect object, *Konen gav mat til hunden.* For further details see the syntax (6.3–6.3.4).

The *nominative* early lost its -*r* in the m. sg., becoming identical with the acc., as already in the f. and n. In the plural -*r* was more resistant. In Danish it was lost in the major declensions, e.g. *hestar* 'horses' > *heste,* but a new declension with -*er* developed, e.g. *marker* from *mark* 'field'. R was also lost in many Sw and Nw dialects, but was kept in all the written and standard languages as the chief marker of plurality in m. and f. nouns (Sw DN NN). The dialect of Dalecarlia is the only known dialect on the mainland that has preserved some acc. forms.

Weak nouns had preserved only two forms in the sg. m. f. in CSc: a nom. and an oblique, e.g. *hagi – haga* m. 'garden', *vika – viku* f. 'week'. Here different dialects have chosen one or the other as base form; the oblique is especially strong in dialects with vowel balance (rule 28, 2.5.2). NN uses only the nom., Sw uses both, e.g. from the m. nom. *droppe* 'drop', *stake* 'stake', but from the oblique *skugga* 'shadow', *flotta* 'fleet'. In NN BN and Da both have merged in -*e.*

Dative is more widely preserved than the acc., but in the indef. it is rare on the mainland, being retained chiefly as a relict in phrases: Da Nw *i live* (ON *á lífi*) 'alive', Nw *på fote* 'on one's feet', Sw *man ur huse* 'every man (from the house)', or an adverb like *stundom* 'sometimes' (Sw BN NN) from the dat. pl. of *stund* 'while' (cf. Eng. *whilom*). With the suffixed article dat. is maintained in large areas of Sweden and Norway; in the 16th century it was still common in written (formal) Sw, e.g. *i landeno* 'in the country', *i högdenne* 'in the heights, aloft', for ModSw *i landet, i höjden.*

Genitive is in a certain sense still part of the Sc languages, but has been severely limited in favor of compounds and prepositional constructions. While CSc had several competing allomorphs for the gen., the -*s* of the strong *a*-stems spread, first to other words in the sg., then to the pl., and eventually even as a suffix to the def. art., e.g. Da *herrernes,* Sw *herrarnas* 'the gentlemen's'. Today the lost suffixes are found only in occasional phrases, e.g. Da *falde til fode*/ Sw *falla til fota* 'submit, lit. fall to one's feet', where *fode* and *fota* go back to gen. plur. *fōta* (after the prep. *til*) (see 6.8.2a). In the course of this development, the -*s* has ceased to be an inflectional morph added to each word in a noun phrase. Instead, it has become a phrase marker, e.g. *kongen af Danmarks* (cf. ON *konungs Danmarkar*) 'the king of Denmark's'; only in formal written Swedish is the form *kungens av Danmark* maintained. In NN and Fa there is little use of the genitive inflection, which is primarily used in fixed idioms and compounds. The same trend appears

in spoken BN and Sw. Forms with double marking of the genitive as in OSc and Ic, e.g. BN *havsens, livsens, landsens* are now limited to idioms and poetry, being replaced in active use by single marking of the genitive: *havets* 'of the sea', *livets* 'life's', *landets* 'of the country, the country's'.

(b) The *gender* system is maintained in most dialects as a three-gender system, in which each noun is inherently m. f. or n., mostly without overt marking. The gender determines the form of the modifying articles or adjectives, and of pronouns that are used to represent the noun. Many Nw and Sw dialects maintain the full system, using the pronouns *han* m., *hon/ho/hu* f., *det* n. to refer to nouns of corresponding gender (regardless of sex). This system is maintained in Ic, Fa, and NN. In BN traditional usage follows Da in reducing the three genders to two, m. and f. having merged in a common (c.) gender, opposed to n. gender. In recent reforms attempts to legitimize the three-gender system in BN have only resulted in the use of some f. article suffixes (*-a*), not in the introduction of the system of pronominal reference. Common gender is often called *utralt genus* in Sw (from Lat *utrum* 'either one'.) It was promoted by the coalescence of final *nn* and *n* (rule C19, 3.8), so that *einn* and *ein* both became *en, -inn* and *-in* both *-en.* Sw. still has reminiscences of the f. in its use of the pronoun *hon* 'she' for some nouns, e.g. *människa* 'human being', *klockan* 'the clock', *blomma* 'flower' (i.e. chiefly words with the suffix *-a*, which in the plurals have the old weak f. pl. *-or*). Otherwise the m. and f. pronouns are used only for natural sex. The n. is maintained everywhere except in West Jutlandic, where its forms are now limited to mass nouns.

(c) The *number* system is maintained almost without change, which fits well with its great semantic function. Of course it is not indispensable, since many languages manage without, and even in Sc there are many nouns that have no pl. suffix (= zero suffix). No Sc language has (like English) generalized a single suffix for all or most of its plurals, but one can say that *-r* (usually with preceding vowel) comes close. Sw is the most complex in distinguishing as plural allomorphs the remnants of the old stem classes: in common gender words *-ar, -er,* and *-or,* in neuter words *-∅, -n,* and *-on;* to which is added the stem changes due to umlaut and the oddities of loanwords (e.g. *neutrum* 'neuter', pl. *neutrer* or *neutra*). NN started with much the same system as Sw, but Aasen's *-or* for weak f. has been replaced with *-er* (*visor* 'songs' > *viser*), and it has not developed such innovations as the Sw *-n* in n. pl. As mentioned above, Da has dropped *-r* in the traditional strong plurals, but has kept it elsewhere and has extended it to many foreign loans, so that it is difficult to predict the pl. form. BN took over the Da system in writing, but in speech abandoned it in favor of a generalized *-er* for all m. and

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f. words and a few n. words, even if the rule now is zero suffix for these (*hester* 'horses', *viser* 'songs', *hus* 'houses'). The spoken forms are now also official in writing.

4.4.2 *Pronouns.* (a) The *personal* pronouns have had a special development, closely associated with social factors. In the *1st and 2nd persons* a case distinction between *subject* and *object* is maintained, as in English (except for *you*): NN *eg – meg, vi – oss; du – deg, de – dykk;* Sw *jag – mig, vi – oss; du – dig, ni – er;* Da *jeg – mig, vi – os; du – dig, I – jer;* BN *jeg – meg, vi – oss ;du – deg, dere – dere* (earlier an attempt was made to maintain *de – dere* here, but *dere* is now case-neutral). The object case is formally based on the old acc., but has taken over functions that were once distributed among the three oblique cases. In the *3rd person* at least many Nw dialects have lost the case opposition, reflected in the common use in NN of *han* he, *ho* she, and *dei* as both nom. and acc. In older NN the dat. was adopted as oblique form: *honom* him, *henne* her, *deim* 'them'. This is regular Sw usage, and corresponds to Da (and traditional BN) *ham* (older *hannem*), *hende* (BN *henne*), *dem* (also Sw). The maintenance of an object form may be due to the practical need of keeping reference clear when one uses several in the same sentence (Aage Hansen 1956). See also the syntax (6.9.1).

(b) Other pronouns have in general followed the noun by reducing all distinctions of *case,* except in occasional phrases, e.g. Sw *för allan del* 'by all means' (acc.sg.m.), *i allo* 'in all respects' (dat. sg. n.), *icke allom givet* 'not granted to all' (dat.pl.). *Gender* is generally marked in the n. sg., usually by a *t*-suffix: *min – mitt/mit* 'my', *vår –vårt* 'our', *den – det* 'it', *ingen –* Da BN Sw *intet*/NN *inkje*/Sw also *inget* 'none – nothing'. NN alone of the mainland languages marks f.: *mi* 'my', *inga* 'no(ne)'. Even in languages which have lost f. gender, the m. and f. pron. of the 3rd person maintain a sex distinction: *han* he, *hon/hun/ho* 'she'. But a new distinction has arisen, in which *den* m./f. and *det* n. refer to non-sexed things, like Eng *it. Den* may also refer to persons when the sex is irrelevant, like Eng *the one* (who). Correspondingly, *det* may refer to things or concepts.

(c) *Number* continues to be marked in the *possessives:* Sw *-a (mina, våra, dina, era, sina),* Da/BN/NN *-e (mine, vore/våre, dine, sine),* unless they end in *-s (hans* his, *hennes/hendes* her, *dess/dets* its, *deras/deres* their). Other pronouns are more irregular.

(d) The *numerals* retain their inflections of 'one' to 'four' in Ic only, of 'one' to 'three' in Fa, but the mainland languages only of the number 'one': NN *ein* m. *ei* f. *eitt* n./BN *en* c. (*ei* f.)*ett*/Sw *en* c. *ett* n./Da *en* c. *et* n.

(e) In late MSc times *einn* 'one' developed into an indefinite article

'a, an' under the influence of other European languages; the development did not reach Ic, but is common in Fa. When used as an art., *ein/en* has reduced stress: *e'n man* 'one man' vs. *en man'* 'a man' (Sw). (6.9.3 b).

4.4.3 *Adjectives.* Here, too, the *case* forms have merged in a single base form, aside from occasional set phrases, like Sw *till godo*/Da BN NN *til gode* '(have something) coming', Sw *i godan ro* 'in goodly rest', NN *pa langan lei* 'a long way off'. *Gender* marking is almost wholly limited to the neuter sg. *-t: stor* – *stort* 'large'. In Sw the adj. normally has the suffix *-a* in the pl. and in the weak forms; but occasionally *-e* is used to mark the male sex: *unge män* 'young men' – *unga kvinnor* 'young women'; *den gode (mannen)* 'the good man' – *den goda (kvinnan)* 'the good woman' (6.9.2).

A curious relic of CSc inflection is the maintenance of the strong-weak opposition, as well as the singular-plural, often by means of the same morphs, viz. Sw *-a (-e)*, Da BN NN *-e*. Only in the word for 'little' do the weak and the pl. differ notably: BN *en liten bok* 'a small book' – *den lille/vesle boken/ boka* 'the small book' – *små bøker* 'small books'. In this word the declension has become suppletive.

The suffixes of comparison have remained as in OSc, i.e. *-are* and *-ire* in Sw and NN, *-ere* and *-ire* in Da and BN; *-ast* and *-ist* in Sw and NN, *-est* and *-ist* in Da and BN. They add no *-t* in the n., but the superlative adds *-a/-e* for pl. and def. forms. There is no case marking. Examples: *gladare/gladere* 'gladder' – *gladast/gladest* 'gladdest'; *yngre* 'younger' – *yngst* 'youngest'.

4.5 Icelandic

Ic has maintained virtually the entire CSc system described above (4.3), with changes due to certain phonetic developments. Among these are the epenthetic vowel between stem and inflectional *-r* (rule 23, 2.5.2): *maðr* 'man' > *maður; føtr* 'feet' > *fætur*. Another is the voicing and opening of weakly stressed *k* and *t* (C12, 3.3): *ek* 'I' > *ég* [jēɣ], *hūsit* 'the house' > *húsið*. Even where old umlaut vowels have merged (16, Ic-1, Ic-3), the morphophonemic alternations are retained, since they did not merge with their old base vowels (e.g. the alternation $\bar{u} - \bar{y}$ is now $\bar{u} - \bar{\iota}$, but the $\bar{\iota}$ is written *ý* as before: *hús* 'house' (noun) – *hýsa* [hiisa] 'house' (verb).

Some rules have become firmer, e.g. *-i* is now regular in the dat. sg. m. and n. *a*-stems, while in OIc mss. it sometimes varied.

A marked change in the pronouns of address is the loss of the dual meaning of *við* 'we two' and *þið* 'you two'; they are now plural, while the old

plurals *vér* and *þér* have become polite pronouns of formal address ('we the king, the editor'; 'you, polite'). The change developed in the 17th century and was probably connected with the introduction of Da influences in Iceland (H. Guðmundsson, 1972, and this writer's review 1975).

4.6   Faroese

The morphological system has shrunk more than in Ic, especially in daily speech; in writing, energetic attempts are being made to maintain older forms. Epenthetic vowel (rule 23, 2.5.2) and consonant voicing (C12, 3.3) are as in Icelandic, except that the -ð in *húsið* is silent, here as elswhere.

In the *case* system the genitive is greatly reduced in use, especially in speech, although a strenuous effort is made to keep it alive in writing. It is found in the first part of compounds (*bókavörður* 'guardian of books, i.e. librarian'), in set phrases (*millum heims og heljar* 'between life and death'), and to some extent after prepositions like *til (til hennara* 'to her'). Elsewhere the use of prepositions is common, e.g. *rørslan hjá arbeiðarunum* or *arbeiða-rarørsla* instead of *rørsla arbeiðaranna* 'the workers' movement' (Lockwood 104

Weakly stressed vowels are maintained in the pl., though *u* and *i* show some tendency to be confused in speech: *armar* 'arms', *veggir* 'walls', *vísur* 'songs' (Hagström 1967). But nom. and acc. have become identical by the spread of *-r* to the acc., and even to dissyllabic neuters: *eplir* 'apples' (OSc *epli*), *eygur* 'eyes' (OSc *augu*).

Dat. case is well preserved, including *u*-umlaut in the pl.: *høgum* 'gardens' *(hagi* m.*), hondum* 'hands' (*hond* f.), *tøkum* 'roofs' (*tak* n.). (Note that -m here is pronounced -n by rule Fa-C4, 3.6).

The def. art. is as in CSc, except that -*inn* and -*in* have merged in -*in* (*maðurin* 'the man', *sólin* 'the sun') without affecting the m. − f. distinction. N. pl. has acquired an extra -*i*, making the def. -*ini* for older -*in* (*húsini* 'the houses'), so that it is identical with the dat. sg. f. (from CSc -*inni*): *sólini* 'the sun' dat. The same -*i* also occurs in the n. pl. of the dem. pron.: *hini* 'those' n. pl. and *hesi* 'these' n. pl.

Personal pron. distinguish acc. and dat. in the sg.: *meg* acc. − *mær* dat. 'me'. In the pl. the dual has replaced the pl. form: *vit* 'we' (dat.-acc. *okkum*, gen. *okkara*), *tit* 'you' (dat.-acc. *tykkum*, gen. *tykkara*). A new and unique polite pronoun of address has developed, *tygum* [tïjun], which would more properly be written *tyðum*, since it is based on the old *yðr* 'you' acc.-dat. pl. with excrescent *t-* from *þ* (in *þér* nom.). The dat. pl. of *teir* 'they' has acquired a regularizing -*um: teimum* (CSc *þeim*).

Adj. have followed the nouns in reducing the use of the gen. case. Acc. pl. m. *-a* has taken over *-r* from the nom.; and dat. sg. f. *-ri* has become *-ari.* As noted above, the number 4 has lost its inflection.

4.7 N-Norwegian (nynorsk)

In spite of many attempts to archaize the language in the direction of ONw, NN has remained a mainland language in line with the others. Living, as it does, in symbiosis with BN, it is constantly under pressure from that language.

The *case* system is almost totally abolished, with the exception that the generalized *-s* is used in compounds, and in fixed phrases, like *til bords* 'at table'. Dat. pl. *-om* is found in older poetry.

Gender is unmarked in nouns, but the three-gender system is maintained by the def. art. and the pronouns, only rarely by the adj. *Number* is marked in the pl. by the old stem-class forms; most m. nouns take *-ar,* most f. nouns *-er,* and most n. nouns *-Ø.* There are a few old *i*-stems in the m. that take *-er,* a few *a*-stems in the f. that take *-ar.* The root stems take *-ier* (with accent 1) regardless of gender: *bok* f. 'book' – *bøker* [bø̄'ker] pl., *fot* m. 'foot' – *føter* [fø̄'ter] pl. Aasen's weak f. pl. *-or* has had to yield to *-er* (*visor* > *viser* 'songs'). The old weak n. nouns have retained the shift to def. *-o* in the pl.: *auga* 'eye' – *augo* pl. (but the alternative *auge* – *auga* is permitted as well), cf. ON *augun.*

The def. article derived from CSc *-in* (f. sg. and n. pl.) has been a bone of contention within the camp of NN followers since Aasen established a historical but minority form *-i,* against the majority usage of *-a.* Today *-a* is the primary form, *-i* a permitted form: *sola/soli* 'the sun', *husa/husi* 'the houses'. Adj. are declined as in other modern Sc, except that adjectives (and participles) in *-en* (ON *-inn*) have disputed variants in f. and n.: *vaksen/vaksi* f., *vakse/vaksi* n. 'grown'. Poss. pron. have f. sg. forms without *n: mi* 'mine', *di* 'yours', *si* 'one's own' (refl.).

Some of the most marked differences from BN are in the pronominal system: *eg* 'I', older *me* 'we' (now *vi*), *de* 'you' nom., *dykk* 'you' acc., *dei* 'they, them', *ho* 'she', *hennar* 'hers', *dykkar* 'yours' (pl.), *deira* 'their'.

The numeral 'one' is also indef. art.: *ein* m., *ei* f., *eitt* n. (*eit* as art.).

4.8 Swedish

The *case* system is eliminated, except for genitive *-s* and the oblique pers.

pron. The *gender* system is reduced to two: *utrum* (c.g.) and *neutrum* (n.g.). The *number* system has preserved the vowels and consonants of the CSc system well, but *-ar* has shown a tendency to spread throughout the old m. and f. *i*-stems, giving novel plurals like *bäckar* 'brooks', *väggar* 'walls', *solar* 'suns', *grisar* 'pigs'. On the other hand, CSc *-r* in root stems has become *-ᵉer* (*böcker* 'books', *fötter* 'feet', *händer* 'hands'), while *-er* is regularly applied to loanwords with final stress: *profe'ter* 'prophets', *turis'ter* 'tourists'. Nouns in *-a* (mostly old f.) get *-or* in the pl.: *blomma* 'flower' — *blommor* pl. This does not apply to n. nouns like *öga* 'eye' or *öra* 'ear', which take a pl. in *-on*: *ögon, öron*. This ESc form (cf. Da *φyne, φren*) has spread also to other n. nouns ending in a vowel: *bin* 'bees', *äpplen* 'apples', even *hjärtan* 'hearts' (cf. CSc *hiartu*). Examples are found as early as 1419 (Noreen *AG* 396.1); *fiskin* 'fishings', *klædhen* 'clothes', *stykken* 'pieces'. The def. pl. has been reduced to virtually a single suffix: *-na* (*böckerna* 'the books', *blommorna* 'the flowers' etc.), and this has even been added to the preceding group (with loss of one *n*): *bina* 'the bees', *äpplena* 'the apples', *hjärtana* 'the hearts'. In informal or regional usage the *-(n)a* is even extended to n. nouns that should only have *-en* in the def. pl: *barnen* 'the children' > *barna/barnena, ögonen* 'the eyes' > *ögona.*

Personal pronouns are as described above (4.4.2a). Peculiar to Sw is the development of ESc *īr* 'you' nom. pl. to *ni* by false juncture division (*kommen i* > *komme ni* 'you come'), cf. the similar development in NN-1C and BN-1C. Loss of *r* is common to Sw and Da, cf. Da *I* 'you' nom. pl. The object form is *er* from *iðr* (4.3.2). *Ni* — *er* remains as a pl., but it has also been much used as a polite sg., no doubt in imitation of an older German usage of *ihr*. In time it became somewhat condescending and was rejected in favor of the use of 3rd person titles and passive circumlocutions: *Har fröken sett min väska?* 'Has the young lady seen my handbag?', *Vill ingenjör Carlsson komma hit?* 'will engineer Carlsson come here?', *Används grädde?* 'Is cream used?' (i.e. 'Do you use cream?') (Thorell 1973, 87). The result made it extremely difficult for Swedes to conduct conversations with persons whose status was unknown to them. Today the younger generation has cut the gordian knot by most commonly reverting to the old *du*, which once was reserved for family and intimates.

Another peculiarity of Sw is the widespread acceptance, even in the higher levels of society, of the form *dom*, once the dative, which now has come to mean 'they' as well as 'them'; in formal writing it is still rejected in favor of *de* 'they' [dē, dī] and *dem* 'them'. In speech it is universal to distinguish 'this' and 'that' by *den här* and *den där* instead of the written *denna* and *den*.

The def. art. in the m. is *-en*, but after vowels (and liquids in unstressed

syllables) it is written -*n:* *mo* 'moor' – *mon* 'the moor', *fågel* 'bird' – *fågeln* 'the bird', *teater* 'theater' – *teatern* 'the theater'.

4.9   Danish

Genitive -*s* is well established in Danish, but nothing else remains of the *case* system of the noun, and *gender* is reduced to c. and n. Vowels in weak syllables are merged into *e* (33), while final -*r* in the pl. is lost, leaving the old pl. endings as -*e:* *arme* 'arms', *vægge* 'walls', *sole* 'suns'. It is even extended to n. nouns: *tage* 'roofs', *huse* 'houses'. As in Sw, the -*r* is retained with umlaut in root stems, and in weak *(n-)*stems: *fødder* 'feet', *hænder* 'hands', *haver* 'gardens', *viser* 'songs', as well as to old ia-stems: *æbler* 'apples'. Many loans have been given -*er* as a pl. suffix: *protester* 'protests', *eskadrer* 'squadrons'. *Øre* 'ear', which formerly was *øren* (cf. Sw above 4.7), is now *ører*, while *øjne* 'eyes' (sg. *øje*) remains irregular. The def. pl. is *-(e)ne.*

ESc *īr* 'you' nom. pl., *iðr* dat. -acc., and *iðar* gen. has been developed into *I, eder,* and *eders.* A speech form of older Da *iðer,* with loss of *ð,* provided the new form *jer* – *jeres,* which now has become standard. Corresponding to the possessives in -*s (hans, hendes, deres)* a new 1. p. pl. *vores* has become generally used for older *vor* – *vort* – *vore* 'our(s)'.

While *I* (like Sw *ni*) was used for a time as a polite pron. (18. century), the 3rd p. pl. *de,* written *De* and pronounced [di] became the new polite pron., following the German usage of *Sie.*

4.10   B-Norwegian (bokmål)

Until the reform of 1938, which deliberately introduced folk forms (esp. from NN) into BN, there was a firm tradition of speech, which was well reflected in the orthography. Since then it has become difficult to state clearly just what the norm is. The new forms are used by some in loyalty to official policy, while they are rejected by others, who consider themselves the guardians of the traditional language (which to them bears the name *riksmål*).

Since all weak syllables, except in some suffixes like -*ig* and -*lig,* and in some words drawn from folk speech, like *furu* 'pine tree', *goro* 'a wafer', *tyri* 'pineroot', have been merged into -*e,* the plurals all have become -*er* for m. and f. nouns (unless words already end in -*er,* in which case the pl. is -*e*); n. polysyllables have been included in this category: *gutter* 'boys',

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piker 'girls', *epler* 'apples', *bøker* 'books', *eksempler* 'examples', but *lærere* 'teachers'. Monosyllabic neuters remain with zero suffix: *hus* 'houses', *tak* 'roofs', *gulv* 'floors'.

The *def. art.* is *-en* in m. and f. nouns, except that f. nouns referring to objects of folk and daily use are now taught in school as having *-a* in the def. sg. and (neuter nouns) in the def. pl.: *kua* the cow, *barna* the children. Because the form *-a* is in fact a very widespread form both in the country and the cities (outside Bergen), it is hoped that it will eventually be accepted in all the words that once had it (or that still have it in daily speech). The def. pl. is *-ene* for all nouns, with dropping of the *-r: guttene* 'the boys', *pikene* 'the girls' etc., as well as those without *-er: husene* 'the houses', *takene* 'the roofs', *lærerne* 'the teachers'.

The *pers. pron.* are as in Da, except that *mig, dig, sig* are respelled *meg, deg, seg,* pronounced [mæi, dæi, sæi], parallel to *jeg* [jæi]. The 2nd p. pl. is *dere,* nom. and acc. (BN-C1). As in Da, the 3rd p. pl. *De* is the formal pronoun, corresponding to Ger. *Sie* and French *vous,* but today many younger people are abandoning it in favor of *du,* as mentioned above for Sweden. The reflexive pron. *seg* and the corresponding poss. *sin* may have either a sg. or pl. subject: *Hun traff sine venner* 'She met her (own) friends'; *De traff sine venner* 'They met their (own) friends'. In Da the subject cannot be plural: *De traf deres venner* 'They met their (own, or some one else's) friends'.

Adj. are inflected as in Da and NN, but unlike the former, the adj. *liten* is the regular indef. form: *en liten gutt* 'a small boy' (Da *en lille dreng*). The form *lille* is limited to weak position (after *den* and other determiners).

4.11   Summary

The modern mainland Sc languages have eliminated the CSc *case* system in the noun morphology, except for *-s,* which has become a movable morpheme. Da Sw and (to some extent) BN have merged m. and f. into a common gender, but have everywhere kept this distinct from n., which in the sg. is usually marked by *-t.* Sw and NN have retained more than the others of the CSc vowel system in weakly stressed syllables (esp. *a*). Otherwise the four mainland languages have virtually the same system:

Table 32. System of Nominal Inflections in ModSc

Noun Class	-a-	-e-		V-	Uml.	-r	Wk		-∅	Wk-e	Wk-a
Gender	m.	m.	(f.)	m.	m.(f.)	m.(f.)	m.	(f.)	n.	n.	n.
Roots	dag- 'day'	park- 'park'	sol- 'sun'	sko- 'shoe'	gäs- 'goose'	bro-r 'brother'	han- 'cock'	vis- 'song'	horn- 'horn'	dik- 'dike'	ör- 'ear'
Sg. Sw	–	–	–	–	–	-de-	-e	-a	–	-e	-a
NN	–	–	–	–	–	–	-e	-e	–	-e	(φyr)a
BN	–	!	–	–	–	–	-e	-e	–	-e	-e
Da	–	–	–	–	–	-de-	-e	-e	–	-(g)e	-e
Pl. Sw	-ar	-er	-ar	-r	gäss	bröder	-ar	-or	–	-en	-on
NN	-ar	-er	-er	-r	gjæs	brør	-ar	-er	–	-c	-o
BN	-er	-er	-er	–	gjess	brødre	-er	-er	–	-er	-er
Da	-e	-er	-e	–	gæs	brødre	-er	-er	–	-(g)er	-(g)er

Def. art.	
Sg.	m. -(e)n f. NN BN -a n. -(e)t
Pl.	Sw -(e)na/Da -(e)ne/NN BN -(e)ne (drop r) Sw -(e)n(a) / Da -(e)ne/BN -(e)ne/NN -a

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(con.)

Dem. pron.	Remote (also def. art. of adj.) 'that'	Proximate 'this'
Sg. c.g. n.g.	den/Sw den (den där) det/Sw det (det där)	denne/Sw denna (den här) dette/Sw detta (det här)
Pl.	de/NN dei/Sw de (de där)	disse/NN desse/Sw dessa (de här)

Adj. Degree	Positive			Compar. – Superl.	
Class	-Ø	Pp. str.	Pp. wk.	-Ø	Uml.
Roots	klar-	bund-	elsk-/Sw. älsk-	klar-	tung-
Sg. c.	—	-en	-et/NN -a Sw -ad	-ere/ Sw NN -are -est/ Sw NN -ast	tyng-re tyng-st
n.	-t	-et/NN -e	-et/NN -a Sw -at	" "	" "
def.	-e/Sw -a (m. -e)	-ne/Sw -na	-ede/NN -a Sw -ade	-est-e/ Sw -ast-a	tyng-st-e /Sw -st-a
Pl.	-e/Sw -a	-ne/Sw -na	-ede/NN -a Sw -ade	"	"
Eng	'clear'	'bound'	'loved'	'clearer' – 'clearest'	'heavier'–'heaviest'

Pronouns: Personal	1p.		2p.		Honorific		3p.						refl.
							m.		f.		impers.		
	Nom.	Acc.	Nom.	Acc.	Nom.	Acc.	Nom.	Acc.	Nom.	Acc.	c.g.	n.g.	Acc.
Sg.													
Sw	*jag*	*mig*	*du*	*dig*	*Ni*	*Er*	*han*	*honom*	*hon*	*henne*	*den det*	—	*sig*
NN	*eg*	*meg*	"	*deg*	*De*	*Dykk*	"	*han*	*ho*	*ho*	— —		*seg*
BN	*jeg* [jæi]	*meg*	"	*deg*	*De*	*Dem*	"	*ham*	*hun*	*henne*	*den det*		*seg*
Da	*jeg* [jai]	*mig*	"	*dig*	*De*	*Dem*	"	*ham*	*hun*	*hende*	*den det*		*sig*
Pl.	Nom.	Acc.	Nom.	Acc.	Nom.	Acc.			Nom.	Acc.			Acc.
Sw	*vi*	*oss*	*ni*	*er*	"				*de (dom)*	*dem*			*sig*
NN	"	"	*de*	*dykk*	"				*dei*	*dei*			*seg*
BN	"	"	*dere*	*dere*	"				*de* [di]	*dem*			*seg*
Da	"	*os*	*I*	*jer*	"				*de* "	*dem*			*sig*

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Pronouns: Possess.	1p.	2p.	Honorific	3p.			
				m.	f.	impers.	refl.
Sg. m.	min	din	Sw Er, Deres (Da-BN), Dykkar (NN)	hans	Sw hennes / NN hennar / BN hennes / Da hendes	dens dets / — —	sin
(NN)f.	mi	di	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,	si
n.	mitt/Da mit	ditt/Da dit	Sw Ert	,,	,,	,,	sitt /Da sit
pl.	mine/Sw -a	dine/Sw -a	Sw Era	,,	,,	,,	sine /Sw -a
Pl. m. (f.)	vår/Da vor (vores)	Sw er, NN dykkar	,, ,,	,, ,,	,, ,,	,, ,,	,,
n.	vårt/Da vort (vores)	ert, BN deres	,, ,,	,, ,,	,, ,,	,, ,,	,,
pl.	våre/Sw -a/ Da vore (vores)	era, Da jeres (sg. and pl.)	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,, (Da not pl.)

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Chapter 5

Morphology: Verbal Inflections

5.1   Definitions

Verbal inflections characterize those words that constitute, either separa-
tely or in combination, the *verb phrases* of a sentence, functioning as its *pre-
dicate.* The basic and almost invariably present class of verbal inflections
is the marker for *tense,* which in Sc (as in all Gmc) distinguishes a *preterite*
(pret.) from a normally unmarked *present* (pres.). While the present merely
indicates that the action or state referred to is contemporary with or valid
at the moment of speaking, the preterite marks it as earlier, by some per-
ceptible interval.

There are two major ways and one minor of marking the pret. in PSc:
(a) a vowel alternation in the stem, known as *ablaut* (2.3.3), inherited from
IE, cf. Eng. *sing – sang;* (b) a dental suffix (ð, þ, often with a preceding stem-
formative vowel) which developed in Gmc as a handy way of deriving new
verbs, cf. Eng. *walk – walked, tend – tended;* (c) reduplication of the initial
consonant, cf. Gothic *slēpan* 'sleep' – *saíslēp* 'slept'. Verbs in class (a) are
called 'strong', (b) 'weak', and (c) 'reduplicative'. In PSc there are very few
reduplicative verbs left, and they are usually classified with the strong as its
Class 7. On the other hand, there is one class of verbs, the *preterito-present,*
which has both strong and weak inflections (strong in the pres., weak in the
pret.). In the following we shall take them up in this order: (1) strong, (2)
weak, (3) preterito-present.

Each verb has a pres. and a pret. *stem,* to either of which further *suffixes*
may then be added. These may mark the verb form as being either *finite,* i.e.
capable of having a subject in a major sentence, or *non-finite,* usually func-
tioning as nouns or adjectives. The finite suffixes (including zero) may also
mark the *mood, person,* and *number* of the form, while the non-finite charac-
terize the form as *infinitive,* a noun-like form often used to list verbs in dic-
tionaries, or as *participial,* adjective-like forms that may be either *pres.* (cf.
Eng *biting*) or *perf.* (cf. Eng *bitten*). The non-finite forms are more like
derived forms than inflected ones, but at times they enter into complex
verbal constructions.

The most important of these are the *compound* tenses, of which we shall briefly discuss the *perfect,* the *pluperfect* (5.3.4b), and the *future* (5.3.4c). The youngest of the suffixes, the *mediopassive,* will be taken up under CSc (5.3.4a; 6.6.3). The regular *passive* will be treated in the syntax (6.6.2; 6.7.1).

In the following account of the history of verbal inflection we shall begin for each period with the formation of the *pres.* and *pret.* stems. Then we shall consider the suffixes that are added to each of these: for the *pres.* the (1) pres. ind., (2) pres. subj., (3) imperative, (4) infinitive, and (5) pres. part.; for the *pret.* the (1) pret. ind., (2) pret. subj., and (3) perf. part. Differences between strong and weak verbs will be noted under each suffix.

5.2   Proto-Scandinavian

A few verb forms occur in the earliest runic inscriptions, but for most of the inflections one has to resort to reconstruction, more or less uncertain.

5.2.1   *Tenses: Stem Classes* (a) *Strong verbs.* There are seven classes: the first six are distinguished by the vowel alternation known as *ablaut* (2.3.3), the seventh is originally *reduplicative,* i.e. the pret. was formed by doubling the initial consonant, e.g. the root **hait- > *hehait* 'was named'. Later this was contracted to **heht* and *hēt,* as in column 7 of table 33. In classes 1–5 the *pres. stem* has the root vowel *e,* the *pret. stem* IE *o,* allowing for the changes of *ei* to *ī* and of *o* to *a*; in PSc the alternation is between *e* and *a: *ber-* vs. **bar-*.

In the *pret. pl.* the *e* and *o* disappear ("zero-grade"), with various results: in 1–2 the glides become the vowels, in 3a *u* develops out of the consonant (*r > ur*), in 4 and 5 the root vowel is lengthened (*a > ā*). In class 6 the alternation is between *a* and *ō* alone. The *perf. part.* is identical with the inf. stem, except in classes 3 and 4, where it has developed a *u* out of the cons. This complex problem has been much debated.

(b) *Weak Verbs.* There are four classes, here numbered 1 (**ō*-stems), 2a (short **ja*-stems), 2b (long **ja*-stems), 3 (**ē*-stems). They have in common that a *root* which may be a noun or other word from which they are derived, is followed by a word-formative suffix, here called a *stem vowel.* In the pret. this is followed by a dental *tense marker,* usually -ð-, but varying according to its environment *(-d-, -t-, -þ-).* Contrary to the strong verbs, there is only one pret. stem, and this is used also in the perf. part. For most weak verbs, it is therefore sufficient to state the stem vowel (and in class 2 if the stem is

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Table 33. Strong Verb Stems in Proto-Sc

Class	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Pres.	*$b\bar{\imath}t$-	*skeut-	*werþ-	*ber-	*gef-	*tak-	*hait-
Pret. sg.	*bait-	*skaut-	*warþ-	*bar-	*gaf-	*$t\bar{o}k$-	*$h\bar{e}t$-
Pret. pl.	*bit-	*skut-	*wurð-	*$b\bar{a}r$-	*$g\bar{a}$b-	*$t\bar{o}k$-	*$h\bar{e}t$-
Perf. p.	*bit-	*skut-	*wurð-	*bur-	*geb-	*tak-	*hait-
	'bite'	'shoot'	'become'	'bear'	'give'	'take'	'be named'

long) to know how the rest of the paradigm goes (e.g. *$kall$-$\bar{o}$-n 'call' inf.,
*$kall$-$\bar{o}$-δ-$\bar{o}$ 'I called' is sufficiently marked by writing -$\bar{o}$). After long-syllable
roots, *-ja- becomes *-ia-. Both *-ja- and *ia- become -i- in the pret., while
*$\bar{e}$ is generally lost in the pret., but remains as -a- in the perf. part. The stem
classes are illustrated by typical verbs in Table 34. Note that *-$\bar{e}$- is from
*-ai- (Rule 1, 2.4.1).

Table 34. Weak Verb Stems in Proto-Sc

Class	1	2a	2b	3
Pres.	*$kall$-$\bar{o}$-	*tal-j-	*$d\bar{o}m$-i-	*lib-$\bar{e}$-
Pret.	*$kall$-$\bar{o}$-δ-	*tal-i-δ-	*$d\bar{o}m$-i-δ-	*lib-(a)-δ-
	'call'	'count, tell'	'judge, deem'	'live'

(c) *Preterito-present Verbs.* These are few in number, only ten having sur-
vived into PSc, but they are of high frequency, some of them functioning
as modal auxiliaries. Referring, as most of them do, to the speaker's attitu-
des and expectations, their original strong pret. forms (with *perfect* meanings)
have acquired *present* or *future* meanings. They have the same ablaut alter-
nations between *pres.* sg. and pl. as strong verbs have between *pret.* sg. and
pl. Only classes 1, 3, 4, and 5 of the ablaut series are represented. Thereupon
new pret. and perf. part. forms were created by adding the pret. suffixes of
weak class 3 to the stem of the pret. pl. or perf. part. There are a number of

puzzling irregularities in these verbs, as in other Gmc languages (cf. Eng *can – could, shall – should*). Suggested reconstructions for the ten known verbs are presented in Table 35. Note that *-tt-* in **wit-t-* had already changed to *-ss-* before PSc (3.1.2a). The alternation of *-x-* and *-ɣ-*, *-f-* and *-b-*, *-þ-* and *-ð-* is due to Verner's Law (2.1.1, 3.1.2b). The dual stem of **max-* may be due to the subjunctive *(*meɣ-)* or to derivation from the perf. part. stem. Forms with *-a-* appear in ESc, *-e-* in WSc.

Table 35. Preterito-present Verb Stems in Proto-Sc

Class	1		3		
Pres. sg.	**wait-*	**aix-*	**ann-*	**kann-*	**þarf-*
Pres. pl.	**wit-*	**aiɣ-*	**unn-*	**kunn-*	**þurb-*
Pret.	**wis-s-*	**aix-t-*	**unn-þ-*	**kunn-þ-*	**þurb-þ-*
Perf. part.	**wit-a-ð-*	**aiɣ-a-ð-*	**unn-a-ð-*	**kunn-a-ð-*	**þurb-a-ð-*
	'know'	'own'	'love'	'be able'	'need'
Class	4			5	
Pres. sg.	**man-*	**mun-*	**skal-*	**max-*	**knax-*
Pres. pl.	**mun-*	**mun-*	**skul-*	**mā̆ɣ-/*meɣ-*	**kneɣ-*
Pret..	**mun-d-*	**mun-d-*	**skul-d-*	**max-t-*	**knax-t-*
Perf. part.	**mun-a-ð-*	– – –	– – –	**maɣ-a-ð/*meɣ-*	– – –
	'recall'	'will'	'shall'	'may, can'	'be able'

5.2.2 *Number and Person: Present Stem Suffixes.*

(a) *Infinitive.* The suffix is *-n*, joined to the stem either by *-a-* or the stem vowel: **bīt-a-n* '(to) bite', **tak-a-n* '(to) take'; **kall-ō-n* '(to) call', **dōm-i-a-n* '(to) judge'. In the pret. -pres. verbs the new pres. stem is the former pret. pl., now pres. pl.: **wit-a-n* '(to) know', **unn-a-n* '(to) love'. An inf. in **-u-* occurs with **mun-u-n* 'will', **skul-u-n* 'shall', identical with the 3p. pres. pl. These may originally be *pret. inf.*, a form abundantly attested in ON for these

words and identical with the new 3p. pret. pl.: *mundu, skyldu,* as well as *vildu, knáttu* (Noreen 1923, par. 529).

(b) *Present Indicative.* The suffixes of the *indicative* are 'unmarked' in comparison with the *subjunctive* (see c). They are seen in purest form in the strong verbs: 1 p. sg. *-u.,* 2p. *-iz,* 3p. *-ið;* 1 p. pl. *-um,* 2p. *-eð,* 3p. *-an.* In the weak verbs the vowel is absorbed by the stem vowels -ō- and -ē- in class 1 and 3; it combines with *i* in class 2b to make a long *ī.* Weak 1 has adopted the strong pl., weak 3 only its 1p. The pres. sg. of the pret. -pres. verbs is of course that of the strong pret. The forms are displayed in Table 36 with some of the same verbs as in the preceding tables.

Wesan '(to) be' is a strong class 5 verb with alternation of *-s-* and *-z-* according to Verner's law (3.1.2b): pres. stem *wes-,* pret. sg. *was-,* pret. pl. *wāz-,* perf. part, *wez-.* But the pres. ind. is not based on the pres. stem; it is suppletive and has the forms: sing. 1p. *em* 'am', 2p. *es-t* 'art', 3p. *es* 'is'; plur. 1p. *ez-u-m* '(we) are', 2p. *ez-u-ð* '(ye) are', 3p. *ez-u-n* '(they) are'.

Table 36. Present Indicative Verb Forms in Proto-Sc

Class		Strong 2	Weak 1	Weak 2a	Weak 2b	Weak 3	Pret.-P.
Pers. 1p.	N. Sg.	*skiūt-u	*kall-ō	*tal-j-u	*dōm-i-u	*lib-ē-u	*kann
2p.		*skiūt-i-z	*kall-ō-z	*tal-j-i-z	*dōm-ī-z	*lib-ē-z	*kann-t
3p.		*skiūt-i-ð	*kall-ō-ð	*tal-j-i-ð	*dōm-ī-ð	*lib-ē-ð	*kann
1p.	Pl.	*skiūt-u-m	*kall-u-m	*tal-j-u-m	*dōm-i-u-m	*lib-u-m	*kunn-u-m
2p.		*skiūt-e-ð	*kall-e-ð	*tal-j-o-ð	*dōm-ī-ð	*lib-ē-ð	*kunn-e-ð
3p.		*skiūt-a-n	*kall-a-n	*tal-j-a-n	*dōm-i-a-n	*lib-ē-n	*kunn-a-n

(c) *Present Subjunctive.* This differs from the indic. in its vowels, which are *-ō* in the 1 p. sg. and *-ē-* (from *-ai-,* cf. Gothic) elsewhere. The person-number endings are the same, except that there is no -ð in the 3p. sg. *Wesan* '(to) be' is suppletive here also, based on the stem *sē-* (cf Ger *sei*). The forms are illustrated in Table 37, including *wesan.* Pret.-pres. are based on the pret. pl. stem.

Table 37. Present Subjunctive Verb Forms in Proto-Sc

Class		Strong 2	*Wesan	Weak 1	Weak 2a	Weak 2b	Weak 3	Pret.-Pres.
P. 1.p.	N. Sg.	*skīut-ō	*se-ō	*kall-ō	*tal-j-ō	*dōm-i-ō	*līb-ō	*kunn-ō
2p.		*skīut-ē-z	*se-z	*kall-ē-z	*tal-j-ē-z	*dōm-i-ē-z	*līb-ē-z	*kunn-ē-z
3p.		*skīut-ē	*se	*kall-ē	*tal-j-ē	*dōm-i-e	*līb-ē	*kunn-ē
1p.	Pl.	*skīut-ē-m	*se-m	*kall-ē-m	*tal-j-ē-m	*dōm-i-ē-m	*līb-ē-m	*kunn-ē-m
2p.		*skīut-ē-ð	*sē-ð	*kall-ē-ð	*tal-j-ē-ð	*dōm-i-ē-ð	*līb-ē-ð	*kunn-ē-ð
3p.		*skīut-ē-n	*se-n	*kall-ē-n	*tal-j-ē-n	*dōm-i-ē-n	*līb-ē-n	*kunn-ē-n

(d) *Imperative.* This is always 2p. sing. pres., with an implied or expressed pronoun subject. The form is that of the stem, i.e. with zero suffix: strong verbs *bīt, *skīut, *werþ etc.; weak verbs *kall-ō, *tal-i, *dōm-i, *līb-ē. The 1p. and 2p. plur. pres. ind. may be used as imperatives, e.g. *kall-u-m 'let's call', *kall-e-ð '(you pl.) call'. (cf. Ger. *kommen wir* 'let's come', *kommt* 'you pl. come').

(e) *Present participle.* The suffix *-nd-* added to the stem plus stem vowel turns the verb into an adjectival form known as the present participle; it always appears with a weak suffix *-ã: *bīt-a-nd-ã 'biting', *kall-ō-nd-ã 'calling', *tal-ja-nd-ã 'telling', *wit-a-nd-ã 'knowing'. If the adj. is substantivized, it gets its plural from the root stems (4.2.1(b)): *bīt-a-nd-iz 'biters' (ON *bítendr*).

5.2.3 *Number and Person: Preterite Stem Suffixes.*

(a) *Preterite indicative.* In strong verbs the suffixes added to the pret. sg. are 1p. *-∅, 2p. *-t, 3p. *-∅; to the pret. pl. 1p. *-u-m, 2p. *-u-ð, 3p. *-u-n. In weak verbs the suffixes added to the pret. sg. stem are the same as the pres. subj. above (5.2.2c): 1p. *-ō, 2p. *-ē-z, 3p. *-ē; to the pret. pl. stem the same as in the strong verbs. The forms are illustrated in table 38, including the pret.-pres. *kunn-an* 'be able' and the suppletive *wes-an* 'be'.

(b) *Preterite subjunctive.* The person-number endings are the same as in the pres. subj. Except in class Weak 1, the connecting vocalic marker -ē- is replaced by -ī-, which (shortened to -i-) also appears before the -ō of the

Table 38. Preterite Indicative Verb Forms in Proto-Sc

Class		Strong 2	*Wesan (5)	Weak 1	Weak 2a	Weak 2b	Weak 3	Pret.-P.
P.	N.							
1p.	Sg.	*skaut	*was	*kall-ō-ð-ō	*tal-i-ð-ō	*dōm-i-ð-ō	*lib-ð-ō	*kunn-þ-ō
2p.		*skaut-t	*was-t	*kall-ō-ð-ē-z	*tal-i-ð-ē-z	*dōm-i-ð-ē-z	*lib-ð-ē-z	*kunn-þ-ē-z
3p.		*skaut	*was	*kall-ō-ð-ē	*tal-i-ð-ē	*dōm-i-ð-ē	*lib-ð-ē	*kunn-þ-ē
1p.	Pl.	*skut-u-m	*wāz-u-m	*kall-ō-ð-u-m	*tal-i-ð-u-m	*dōm-i-ð-u-m	*lib-ð-u-m	*kunn-þ-u-m
2p.		*skut-u-ð	*wāz-u-ð	*kall-ō-ð-u-ð	*tal-i-ð-u-ð	*dōm-i-ð-u-ð	*lib-ð-u-ð	*kunn-þ-u-ð
3p.		*skut-u-n	*wāz-u-n	*kall-ō-ð-u-n	*tal-i-ð-u-n	*dōm-i-ð-u-n	*lib-ð-u-n	*kunn-þ-u-n
		'shot'	'was/were'	'called'	'counted'	'judged'	'lived'	'could'

Table 39. Preterite Subjunctive Verb Forms in Proto-Sc

Class		Strong 2	Strong 5	Weak 1	Weak 2a	Weak 2b	Weak 3	Pret.-Pr.
P.	N. Sg.							
1p.		*skut-i-ō	*wāz-i-ō	*kall-ō-ð-ō	*tal-i-ð-i-ō	*dōm-i-ð-i-ō	*lib-ð-i-ō	*kunn-þ-i-ō
2p.		*skut-ī-z	*wāz-ī-z	*kall-ō-ð-ē-z	*tal-i-ð-ī-z	*dōm-i-ð-ī-z	*lib-ð-ī-z	*kunn-þ-ī-z
3p.		*skut-ī	*wāz-ī	*kall-o-ð-ē	*tal-i-ð-ī	*dōm-i-ð-ī	*lib-ð-ī	*kunn-þ-ī
1p.	Pl.	*skut-ī-m	*wāz-ī-m	*kall-ō-ð-ē-m	*tal-i-ð-ī-m	*dōm-i-ð-ī-m	*lib-ð-ī-m	*kunn-þ-ī-m
2p.		*skut-ī-ð	*wāz-ī-ð	*kall-ō-ð-ē-ð	*tal-i-ð-ī-ð	*dōm-i-ð-ī-ð	*lib-ð-ī-ð	*kunn-þ-ī-ð
3p.		*skut-ī-n	*wāz-ī-n	*kall-ō-ð-ē-n	*tal-i-ð-ī-n	*dōm-i-ð-ī-n	*lib-ð-ī-n	*kunn-þ-ī-n

1p. sg. (These vowels would later cause umlaut, see 5.3.10). The suffixes are added to the pret. pl. stem. See illustrations in table 39.

(c) *Perfect participle.* This is formed by adding adj. suffixes to the weak pret. stem and to the strong class 1–3 pret. pl. stem; in class 4 to a special perf. part. stem (5.2.1); in class 5–7 to the pres. stem. Strong verbs also have an intervening suffix *-in-* before the adj. suffixes: Runic *slaɣ-in-a-z* 'slain', nom. m. sg. The suffix *-in-* corresponds to Gothic *-an-*. The runic inscriptions have *-in-* and later Sc forms lead us to expect this form; but it does not cause i-umlaut, and a number of forms show *a*-umlaut (rules 11, 12 in 2.4.6). The suffixes probably derive from different IE formants and may have alternated in PScand. For this reason we here adopt *-an-* as the PScand form, displayed in Table 40 (cf. Table 49). *Munu, skulu,* and *knega* have no perf. part.

Table 40. Perfect Participles in Proto-Sc

Strong	Weak	Preterito-present
1 *bit-an-a-z* 'bitten'	1 *kall-ō-ð-a-z* 'called'	1 *wit-a-ð-a-z* 'known'
2 *skut-an-a-z* 'shot'	2a *tal-i-ð-a-z* 'counted'	*aiɣ-a-ð-a-z* 'owned'
3 *wurð-an-a-z* 'become'	2b *dōm-i-ð-a-z* 'judged'	3 *unn-a-ð-a-t* 'loved'
4 *bur-an-a-z* 'born'	3 *lib-a-ð-a-t* 'lived'	*kunn-a-ð-a-t* 'been able'
5 *geb-an-a-z* 'given'		*þurb-a-ð-a-t* 'needed'
6 *tak-an-a-z* 'taken'		4 *mun-a-ð-a-z* 'recalled'
7 *hait-an-a-z* 'called'		5 *maɣ-a-ð-a-t* 'been able'

5.3 Common Scandinavian

The verbs were exposed to the same radical changes as the nouns (4.3), but the structure as such was not greatly altered. The most important innovation was the mediopassive form (5.3.4c) created by enclisis of the reflexive pronoun, a Nordic development reminiscent of the enclitic article (4.3.2)

Complex verb phrases (perfects and modals) are in regular use in the earliest manuscripts, but it is not known how far back they go. The perfect, at least, seems to be a late European innovation in the Romance and Germanic languages.

In the following we shall adopt the same plan as in the PSc section, so that each structure may be directly compared with the preceding stage. Instead of hypothetical (starred) roots and stems, we shall present actual forms, or near-actual forms such as they would have been just prior to the split into East and West Scandinavian. Where no such forms can be set up, eastern and western variants are included. For each verb the forms listed are the *principal parts:* infinitive, preterite (1p. sg. and pl. for strong verbs), and perfect participle. From these the rest can be formed.

5.3.1 *Tenses: Stem Classes.* (a) *Strong Verbs.* Compare Table 41 with Table 33.

Table 41. Strong Verb Classes in Common Sc

Class	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Inf.	*bīta*	*skiūta*	*verþa*	*bera*	*gefa*	*taka*	*heita*
Pret. Sg.	*beit*	*skaut*	*varþ*	*bar*	*gaf*	*tōk*	*hēt*
Pret. Pl.	*bitum*	*skutum*	*urþum*	*bārum*	*gāfum*	*tōkum*	*hētum*
Perf. P.	*bitenn*	*skutenn*	*urþenn*	*burenn*	*gefenn*	*takenn*	*heitenn*
	'bite'	'shoot'	'become'	'bear'	'give'	'take'	'be named'

Before nasal clusters $e > i$ at a very early date, as in class 3 verbs like *finna* 'find', *vinda* 'wind', *stinga* 'sting'. In WSc $u > o$ in the perf. part. of classes 2–4 (*a*-umlaut, rule 8). In class 4 the ablaut variant *o* replaces *e* in a few words: *koma* 'come', *sofa* 'sleep', *troþa* 'tread'. Breaking (rule 13) has changed *e* to *ia: biarga* 'save'. W-umlaut (rule 14) has changed *e* to ϕ or *y*: WSc *søkkva*, ESc *siunka* (from *y*), Gmc **sinkwan*, from IE **sengw-*. Loss of consonants and hiatus shift (Rule 15) have reduced **sehwan* to WSc *sīā*/ESc *sēa*. In class 6 *j*-umlaut has altered *a* to *ę*: **haffan > hęfia* 'lift, heave'; **swarjan > suęria* (Rule 12). In class 2 WSc has lowered *īu* to *īo* in some verbs: *skīota* shoot, *bīoþa* 'bid' (Rule 19).

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Note that by rules C1 and C4 (3.2) *þ* and *ð*, *f* and *v*, *i* and *j*, *u* and *w* have merged into single phonemes written *þ*, *f*, *i*, and *u; þ* and *f* are to be pronounced voiced in voiced environment, while *i* and *u* are pronounced *j* and *w* between consonants and vowels (as in *skiōta* and *sueria* above).

  (b) *Weak Verbs.* Compare Table 42 with Table 34

Table 42. Weak Verb Classes in Common Sc

Class	1	2a	2b	3
Inf.	*kalla*	*tẹlia*	*dø̄ma*	*lifa*
Pret. 1p. sg.	*kallaþa*	*talda*	*dø̄mda*	*lifða*
Perf. Part.	*kallaþR*	*taldR*	*dø̄mdR*	*lifat*

Long $\bar{o} > a$ (rule 3); short unstressed *i* is lost (except when it was *j;* rule 2), and caused umlaut unless the preceding stem was short (rule 12). On the suffixes see below (5.3.4). On the dental suffix see rule C4a (3.2).

  (c) *Preterito-present Verbs.* The principal parts will here have to include also the pres. sg. and pl. (the old pret. forms); compare with table 35. ESc (OSw) is very similar, except that *knāttu* is missing. Some minor phonetic differences are: *eiga > ægha, þurfa > þorva, mega > magha.* For suffix changes see below.

Table 43. Preterito-Present Verbs in Common Sc

Class	1		3			4			5	
Inf.	*vita*	*eiga*	*unna*	*kunna*	*þurfa*	*muna*	*munu*	*skulu*	*mega*	*knāttu*
Pres. sg.	*veit*	*ā*	*ann*	*kann*	*þarf*	*man*	*mun*	*skal*	*mā*	*knā*
Pres. pl.	*vitum*	*eigum*	*unnum*	*kunnum*	*þurfum*	*munum*	*munum*	*skulum*	*megum*	*knegum*
Pret. sg.	*vissa*	*ātta*	*unna*	*kunna*	*þurfta*	*munda*	*munda*	*skylda*	*mātta*	*knātta*
Perf. p.	*vitat*	*ātt*	*unnat*	*kunnat*	*þurft*	*munat*	– – –	– – –	*megat*	– – –
	'know'	'own'	'love'	'be able'	'need'	'recall'	'will'	'shall'	'may, be able'	

5.3.2 *Number and Person: Present Stem Suffixes.*

(a) *Infinitive.* The marker is regularly -*a*, after loss of unstressed -*n* (rule C5), and -$\bar{o}$ > -*a* (rule 3). In weak class 2 -*j*- remains, while -*i*- falls by syncope (rule 2). In weak class 4 -*ai*- > -$\bar{e}$- (rule 1) and is then analogically replaced by -*a*. *Skulu* and *munu* retain -*u*, as well as the weakly formed pret. inf. mentioned in 5.2.4. Loss of *x/h* (rule C3) in *sexwan 'see' produced vowel hiatus with varying results, in WSc *sīa* (rule 15), in ESc *sēa*, later *sē*. A number of such verbs lost the -*a* altogether, leaving inf. ending in long vowels: *bō* dwell, *flȳ* fly, *spā* prophesy.

(b) *Present Indicative.* The reduction of weakly stressed vowels (rules 1–4), the loss of -*n* (rule C5), and the change of *z* > R [ž?] > *r* (rule C2), as well as the vagaries of umlaut (rules 12, 14) not only reduced the length of the person-number suffixes, but made the original stem vowels less clear and the paradigm less transparent. Only one major structural change occurred: the analogical transfer of 2p. -R (from -*z*) to the 3p. sg., eliminating 3p. -*þ* (cf. Eng. *speaketh*, replaced by -*s* supposedly through Norse influence). In OSw the leveling has been even more marked: no *i*-umlaut in the strong verbs sg.; -*r* has been generalized in the sg. (with a svarabhakti -*e*- after those

Table 44. Present Indicative Verb forms in Common Sc

Class		Str. 2	*Vera*	Weak 1	Wk. 2a	Wk. 2b	Wk. 3	Pret.-pr.
P. 1p.	N. Sg.	'shoot' WSc *skȳt* ESc *skiūter*	'be' *er* *ær*	'call' *kalla* *kalla(r)*	'count' *tẹl* *tæl*	'judge' *dǭmi* *dǭmi(r)*	'live' *lifi* *livi(r)*	'can' *kann*
2p.		WSc *skȳtr* ESc *skiūter*	*ert* *æst*	*kallar*	*tẹlr* *tæl*	*dǭmir*	*lifir* *livir*	*kannt* *kanst*
3p.		WSc *skȳtr* ESc *skiūter*	*er* *ær*	*kallar*	*tẹlr* *tæl*	*dǭmir*	*lifir* *livir*	*kann*
1p.	Pl.	WSc *skiōtum* ESc *skiūtom*	*erum* *ærom*	*kọllum* *kallum*	*tẹlium* *tæliom*	*dǭmum* *dǭmom*	*lifum* *livum*	*kunnum*
2p.		WSc *skiōtiþ* ESc *skiūtin*	*eruþ* *ærin*	*kalliþ* *kallin*	*tẹliþ* *tælin*	*dǭmiþ* *dǭmin*	*lifiþ* *livin*	*kunniþ* *kunnin*
3p.		WSc *skiōta* ESc *skiūta*	*eru* *æru*	*kalla*	*tẹlia* *tælia*	*dǭma*	*lifa* *liva*	*kunnu/ kunna*

consonants where it is not assimilated, viz. *l n r s*, e.g. *skiūter* 'shoots' vs.
væl 'chooses'); and a new *-n* has replaced *-þ* in the 2p. pl. Rather than harmo-
nize these, we shall set up parallel paradigms for WSc and ESc, listing the for-
mer above the latter where they differ. Compare Table 44 with Table 36.
We here include *kunna* as an example of the pret.-pres., which in part also
has pret. suffixes in the present. Note that *vera* has generalized *r* throughout
from the **z* of the pret. pl. stem (in WSc).

(c) *Present Subjunctive.* In WSc the change of **ō* to *a* (Rule 3) and of **ē*
to *i* (rules 3, 4) has preserved five of six person-number forms, as shown in
Table 45. We do not include ESc, since it has leveled the entire sg. to *-i*
(*skiūti, sēi/vari, kalli* etc.), as well as the 3p. pl. (with occasional *-n*), while
the 1p. and 2p. pl. are identical with the indic. There is no *i*-umlaut caused by
the suffixes. ODa has only *-e/-æ* in all forms. Compare Table 45 with Table 37.

Table 45. Present Subjunctive Verb Forms in Common Sc

Class		Strong	*Vera*	Weak 1	Wk 2a	Wk 2b	Wk 3	Pret.-pres.
P. 1p.	N. Sg.	*skiōta*	*siā/sē*	*kalla*	*tęlia*	*dǿma*	*lifa*	*kunna*
2p.		*skiōtir*	*sēr*	*kallir*	*tęlir*	*dǿmir*	*lifir*	*kunnir*
3p.		*skiōti*	*sē*	*kalli*	*tęli*	*dǿmi*	*lifi*	*kunni*
1p.	Pl.	*skiōtim*	*sēm*	*kallim*	*tęlim*	*dǿmim*	*lifim*	*kunnim*
2p.		*skiōtiþ*	*sēþ/sēr*	*kalliþ*	*tęliþ*	*dǿmiþ*	*lifiþ*	*kunniþ*
3p.		*skiōti*	*sē*	*kalli*	*tęli*	*dǿmi*	*lifi*	*kunni*

(d) *Imperative.* The PSc forms are carried over with appropriate phonetic
changes: zero suffix in the strong verbs and weak class 2 verbs: *skiot/skiut*
'shoot!', *ver/var* 'be!', *tęl/tæl* 'count!', *dǿm* 'judge!'. Weak class 1 verbs retain
the *-a: kalla* 'call!'. Weak class 3 may retain the *-i/-e,* but usually loses it in
analogy with Class 2: *þegi* 'be silent!', *life* 'live!', but gradually *þeg* and *lif,*
especially in ESc. In WSc poetry Class 2 verbs may preserve the stem vowel
before the negative suffix *-at: tęliat* 'don't count!', *dǿmit* 'don't judge!'.

(e) *Present Participle.* The CSc suffix is *-and-,* which is always weak as an

adj., while as a noun it is a weak m. in the sg. (4.3.1(c)) and a consonant stem in the pl. (4.3.1(b)). The weak inflection of the adj. is an *an*-stem in the m. and n., an *īn*-stem in the f. See Table 46.

Table 46. Present Participle in Common Sc

Part of speech:	Adjective ('giving')			Noun ('giver') (m.)
Sing.	masc.	fem.	neut.	masc.
Nom.	*gefandi*	*gefandi*	*gefanda*	*gefandi*
Gen. Dat. Acc.	*gefanda*	*gefandi*	*gefanda*	*gefanda*
Plur.				
Nom.		*gefandi*		*gefendr*
Gen.		*gefandi*		*gefanda*
Dat.		*gefandum*		*gefandum*
Acc.		*gefandi*		*gefendr*

The forms in OSw are in principle the same, but tend towards a generalized form in *-ande*. While the adjectival forms can be generated from any verb, the nouns are more idiomatic. A number of them show contractions, e.g. *bōndi* m. 'farmer', from *būa/bōa*, possibly from **bō-undã* an ablaut variant of *-and-*. Its consonant stem pl. is *bǿndr*; cf. also *frǣndi* 'kinsman', from **frī-and-ã* 'loving', pl. *frǣndr; fiandi* 'enemy' from **fī-and-ã* 'hating' (ON *fjā*, Gothic *fijan*), pl. *fiandr*.

5.3.3 *Number and Person: Preterite Stem Suffixes.*

(a) *Preterite Indicative.* The rules for adding person-number suffixes to the pret. stem remain the same (5.2.3a). Strong and weak differ in the sing.: strong 1p. *-∅*, 2p. *-t*, 3p. *-∅* vs. weak 1p. *-a*, 2p. *-ir*, 3p. *-i*. They are the same in the plur.: 1p. *-um*, 2p. *-uð*, 3p. *-u*.

In OSw the 3p. has been generalized to the entire sg., except that the 2p. *-t* > *-st*, especially after dentals (*skǿt-t* > *skǿt-st* 'thou shot', *baþ-t* > *bat-st*

'asked'), in part also by analogy (*vast* 'thou wert') and LG influence. In the 2p. pl. OSw replaced -*uð* by -*in*, as in the pres. (probably by analogy from the subjunctive) (Noreen, *Altschw. Gr.* 476–477). Compare Table 47 with 38.

Table 47. Preterite Indicative Verb Forms in Common Sc

Class		Strong	*Vera*	Weak 1	Wk 2a	Wk 2b	Wk 3	Pret.-pres.
P. 1p.	N. Sg.	skaut	var	kallaþa	talda	dǿmda	lifþa	kunna
2p.		skaut(s)t	var(s)t	kallaþir	taldir	dǿmdir	lifþir	kunnir
3p.		skaut	var	kallaþi	taldi	dǿmdi	lifþi	kunni
1p.	Pl.	skutum	vārum	kallaþum	taldum	dǿmdum	lifþum	kunnum
2p.		skutuþ	vāruþ	kallaþuþ	talduþ	dǿmduþ	lifþuþ	kunnuþ
3p.		skutu	vāru	kallaþu	taldu	dǿmdu	lifþu	kunnu

In ON (esp. OIc) *u*-umlaut (rule 14) operated to produce plurals like *vǫrum, kǫlluþum, tǫldum* etc. The 2p. sg. -*t* combined with preceding stems in various ways e.g. *bjō* lived > *bjōtt* 2p., *varþ* > *vart(t)* 2p., and could be lost before: *þu: gekk þu/gekktu*. In later Ic it was generalized as -*st*.

(b) *Preterite Subjunctive.* The forms are based entirely on the pret. pl. stems, and the suffixes are identical to those of the pres. subjunctive (5.3.2c), Table 45. For the weak verbs this meant that the sg. was identical with the pret. indic., while in the pl. -*u*- was replaced by -*i*-. In OSw even this difference was reduced to the 3p. pl. -*i*. In WSc strong and wk. 2–3 verbs the *-ī̆*- caused *i*-umlaut in the stems wherever possible, as shown in Table 48.

The *i*-umlaut of the stem is missing in ESc, though occasional instances are attested. It is preserved into modern Ic, except that the suffixes in the pl. are now identical with those of the pret. indic. (5.3.3a). Compare Table 48 with 39.

(c) *Perfect Participle.* The rules for formation are the same as in PSc (5.2.3c). Class 1–3 strong verbs add -*in*- to the pret. pl. stem, 4 to a special perf. part. stem, 5–7 to the pres. stem., followed by adj. endings. Weak verbs add adj. endings to the pret. suffix, with regular modification of -*þ*- (Rule

Table 48. Preterite Subjunctive Verb Forms in Common Sc

Class		Str 2	Str 3	Str 4	Str 5	Str 6	Wk 2a	Wk 3	Pret.-Pres.	
P. 1p.	N. Sg.	skyta	yrþa	bǽra	gǽfa	tǿka	telda	vekta	kynna	ǽtta
2p.		skytir	yrþir	bǽrir	gǽfir	tǿkir	teldir	vektir	kynnir	ǽttir
3p.		skyti	yrþi	bǽri	gǽfi	tǿki	teldi	vekti	kynni	ǽtti
1p.	Pl.	skytim	yrþim	bǽrim	gǽfim	tǿkim	teldim	vektim	kynnim	ǽttim
2p.		skytiþ	yrþiþ	bǽriþ	gǽfiþ	tǿkiþ	teldiþ	vektiþ	kynniþ	ǽttiþ
3p.		skyti	yrþi	bǽri	gǽfi	tǿki	teldi	vekti	kynni	ǽtti

C4); class 1 *-aþ-*, 2a *-(i)þ-*, 2b *-þ-*, 3 *-(a)þ-*. Wk. class 3 and some pret.-pres. verbs are listed in the n., since they are not attested as adj. Compare Table 49 with 40.

Table 49. Perfect Participles in Common Sc

Strong				Weak		Preterito-present		
1	*bitinn*	4	*burinn/ borinn*	1	*kallaþr*	1	*vitaþr*	*þurft (-at)*
2	*skutinn/ skotinn*	5	*gefinn*	2a	*taliþr/taldr*		*āttr*	4 *munaþr*
3	*urðinn/ orðinn*	6	*takinn/ tekinn*	2b	*dǿmdr*	3	*unnat*	5 *mātt*
		7	*heitinn*	3	*lifat*		*kunnat*	

In WSc the *-u-* of St classes 2–4 are commonly lowered to *o* (Rule 11); *skotinn, orþinn, borinn.* The second *n* in *-inn* represents nom. m. sg. and is often lost in writing. In ESc the *-i-* is usually *-e-* and an epenthetic *-e-* is

inserted between *-þ-* and *-r: taken, kalladher.* In WSc the *-a-* of the stem is umlauted by *-i-* only when followed by a velar stop *(k g ng): tẹkinn* 'taken', *gẹnginn* 'gone'.

5.3.4 *Secondary Verb Forms*

(a) *The Mediopassive.* A development peculiar to the CSc language was the suffix which in WSc appears as *-st,* in ESc as *-s,* and is known as the *mediopassive* or *middle* voice. IE had a middle voice with a similar range of meanings, but in Gmc this survived only in Gothic, e.g. *bair-ada* 'I was carried', *hait-ada* 'I was named'. This last verb is the only one to show traces of the old middle, e.g. in OSc *heiti* 'I am named' (cf. *leik* 'I play', in the same 7th strong verb class). The semantic functions of the middle were taken over in Gmc by the reflexive pronouns, as in Eng *I enjoy myself, he helps himself.* This usage continued in Sc also, alongside the special development of the mediopassive enclitic.

The practice seems to have originated in the early CSc period (and is still present in all Sc dialects), since early forms show an enclitic of the first person with the old 1p. sg. vowel suffix *-u,* e.g. in *dǿm-u-mk* 'I am judged' (from **dōmiu mik,* lit. 'I judge myself'). Beside *mik* the chief pronoun used was *sik,* which became *-sk* and eventually *-st.* There is no generally accepted explanation of the change *-sk* > *-st* and *-s,* but one could suggest the frequent occurrence of *-sk* before pronouns beginning with *þ-,* at least after it was generalized to all three persons of the verb: **minnr-sk-þū* > *minnztu,* reanalyzed as *minnst þū* 'you remember'. In EScand there are traces of dat. usage (*mēr, sēr*), which could account for *-s.* The mediopassive is first attested in runic inscriptions of the tenth century (in Sweden and Denmark).

The meanings of the mediopassive are *reflexive,* competing with the reflexive pronouns (in Ic one can say either *klæða sig* or *klæðast* 'dress', where the latter also has the meaning 'recover from an illness'); *reciprocal,* e.g. *berjast* 'they fight' (but also *berja hvor annan* 'fight each other'); *passive,* e.g. BN *dǿmmes* 'is sentenced' (but also *blir dǿmt*); *deponent,* e.g. Ic *minnast* 'remember' (*minna* 'to remind'). In general the mediopassive is idiomatic and stylistic, being limited to specific verbs rather than being added freely to all. In ON the awareness of its origin was clear enough so that we find it used as the accusative subject of infinitives: *hann kvazk koma* 'he said he would come' (lit. 'he said himself to come'). On the regular passive see 6.6.

(b) *The Perfect.* A significant innovation in CSc was the development of compound tenses, the *perfect* and the *pluperfect.* These are as much *aspects* as they are tenses. Formed not by suffixes, but by the joining together of verb forms, they are as much a *syntactic* as a *morphological* feature. We take

them up here because they contrast with the pret. in some functions, and because they fill a semantic slot which had its own suffixes in IE. But they are not a Scandinavian innovation, rather a common European one parallel to and possibly under the influence of the Romance and the other Germanic languages. They are part of the development of these languages from the use of suffixed morphemes to distinct function words, i.e. from synthesis to analysis.

Early examples in the runic inscriptions suggest that the perfect began by expressing a result. A Swedish runic inscription (Västmanland 15) has *stæin hafiR rettan* '(a) stone (he) has raised', where the perf. part. *rettan* is acc. sg. m. to agree with *stæin,* the object. The idea is that he 'has a stone (which is) raised.' But soon the part. came to be always neuter (a form known as the *supine*) when used with 'have', making it more closely joined with the auxiliary verb into a complex verb phrase. In ON prose, analysis has shown that agreement and non-agreement exist side by side as free variants but with a trend toward non-agreement (Barnes 1969). Verbs of change and movement (what T. Johannisson 1945 called *mutative* verbs) formed a parallel tense by means of the verb 'be': *hon er farin* 'she is gone', i.e. 'she has left'. With the verb 'be' the perf. part. continued to be declined as an adj. in *-inn.* Later developments have changed this relationship in some of the daughter languages.

The central function of the simple perfect is to enable the speaker to mark that an action in the past is somehow related to the present, i.e. the moment of utterance. As in English, Scandinavian does not use the perfect about events that are clearly dated in the past. Contrary to German, one cannot say 'I have seen her yesterday,' normally preferring 'I saw her'. But of events that are still continuing, the perfect is normal: 'I have been here since yesterday'.

In addition to the pres. perf. there is the *pluperfect,* a past perf. with 'had' and 'was' about events that precede a particular point in the past: *Gunnarr hafði farit heiman* 'Gunnar had left home' (*Njála* 119). It may also be combined with 'shall' and 'will' to make a rarely employed *future perfect:* Ic *ég mun vera kominn* 'I will have come'.

(c) *The Future.* There is no morphological future in Sc, only various ways of talking about what may, will, or should take place. This is a highly nuanced semantic category and is included here only because it contains a concept of tense and may contrast with the inflected past and present. Simplest is the use of *pres.* when the verb itself or a temporal modifier has a future meaning: *þar liggr hann í bǫndum til ragnarǫkkrs* 'There he [Loki] lies [i.e. will lie] bound until the end of the world (*Sn. Edda* 40, 28). Here the pres. stands for a future that lasts indefinitely from the present moment on.

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Otherwise the future is spoken of by means of a modal V usually followed by a main V in the inf. form. Each modal implies a slightly different attitude to the expected action. The two most common modals in OSc were *munu* and *skulu*, the first implying intention or inclination, the other purpose or determination: *Muntu mér, Freyja, fjaðrhams ljá?* 'Will you, Freyja, lend me you feather dress?' (*Poetic Edda, Þrymskviða* 3); *Hann skal standa, þá er bæði himinn ok jǫrð hefir farizt* 'He (i.e. it, Gimli, abode of the gods) shall stand when both heaven and earth have perished'. (*Sn. Edda* 12, 28). Wessén (1965, 3.125) finds that while the usual future modal in ON is *munu*, in OSw it is *skulu: þæt skal at minnum manna, meðan menn lifa* 'that [stone] shall be a memorial to the men, as long as men live' (U 114).

In ModSc the use of pres. in a future sense continues undiminished. In the mainland languages *munu* has virtually vanished, except in archaic language (Sw *månde*/Da BN *monne*/NN *munde*, all pret. 'might') and in Da BN *mon* as a question particle: *Mon han kommer?* 'Wonder if he'll come?' *Skal/skall* and *vil/vill* are the usual futures, each with various modal overtones; see also the other modals (5.3.4c). Phrasal futures are: Sw *kommer att*/Da *kommer til at* (BN *å*) 'is (are) going to, will', etc.

5.4   From Old to Modern Scandinavian

Just as the nouns lost their dat. and acc. case endings, so the verbs lost their person and (eventually) their number inflections. As mentioned above, these inflections were syntactic forms without semantic value, so that they could be abandoned in favor of a relatively more fixed word order. Danish led the development, while Ic and to some extent Fa (with some isolated Sw and Nw dialects) remained outside it. The following account will deal primarily with the mainland languages.

5.4.1 *Tense.* As the semantically most important of the inflectional morphemes, tense has retained its form and function much more tenaciously than the others (5.3). Thanks to high frequency of use, the complex distinctions between strong and weak verbs are maintained. However, there has been a good deal of movement on the part of individual verbs from one class to another, chifly from strong to weak (Venås 1967). Most loanwords have also entered the main weak class, viz. class 1, thereby promoting greater regularity of morphology. Examples of transfers are: ON *bíða* 'bide, wait', pret. *beið* > Sw *bidade*, Da *biede*, BN *biet (bidde);* ON *symja* 'swim', pret. *svam* > Sw. *simmade*, Da *svømmede*, BN *svømte* (but NN *svam*); ON *leika*

'play', pret. *lēk* > BN Sw *lekte,* Da *legede,* NN *leika(de).* These transfers have been sporadic and in part fairly recent, so that there are differences among the languages, with NN being probably the most conservative of the mainland languages. Where vowel alternations occurred within the tenses, these have generally been leveled, except in NN: ON *blāsa* 'blow', pres. *blǣss,* vs. Da *blæse, blæser,* BN *blåse, blåser,* Sw *blåsa, blåser,* but NN *blåsa, blæs.* Except in NN this originally strong verb (class 7) has become weak (pret. *-te*).

The PSc and OSc weak class 3 consisted of a small number of verbs, which were not sufficiently marked as different from the other classes of weak verbs to escape their analogical influence. The merger of **-ē* with the **-i* in the pres. of class 2b and the tendency of the vowel to get lost in the pret. made most of the verbs so similar to class 2b verbs that they joined them, often with some remaining irregularity: e.g. in Sw *leva,* pret. *levde,* perf. part. *levt/levat* 'live'; *tåla,* pret. *tålde/tålte,* perf. part. *tålt/tålat* 'endure'. Others joined class 1, with which they had the perf. part. in common: *spara,* pret. *sparade,* perf. part. *sparat* 'spare'; *vaka,* pret. *vakade,* perf. part. *vakat* 'wake'. The transition was helped by the fact that many of these already vacillated between class 2 and 3, e.g. *hafa* 'have', *sęgia* 'say', and *þęgia* 'be silent'. Verbs with a long stem vowel like *gā* 'perceive', *nā* 'reach' could have weak 3 class pres. like *gāi, nāi,* but also strong ones like *gæ, næ;* eventually they became the nucleus of a new conjugation in Nw and Sw, a new "third" weak class.

The most important innovation in the structure was the rise of this new conjugation class in Sw and Nw with pret. in *-dde* and perf. part. in *-dd:* *bodde/budde* 'dwelt', *trodde/trudde* 'believed', *sydde* 'sewed', *sådde* 'sowed' etc. It has long been recognized (Schagerström 1886) that these verbs, coming from various classes, must have derived their novel forms from long-vowel stems ending in *-ð-,* such as *fǿða* 'bear; feed' or *hlyða* 'listen; obey'. The latter were weak class 2b verbs, whose pret. stem became *fǿdd-* and *hlydd-* when *ð* was added by rule C4b (3.2) for geminated *ð.* Once the *-ð-* of the inf. began to disappear, the two groups were so similar that the more regular forms were analogically transferred to the vocalic stems. The exact mechanism of change is in dispute (for discussion see V. Jansson 1948), but the rule is virtually without exception for standard Sw and Nw, extending even to lws, like Sw *betyda*/Nw *bety* 'mean', pret. *betydde.* In Nw dialects one can even find forms like *ridde* for regular *red/rei* 'rode'. The change is not reflected in Da: *betydede* or *betφd* (trans. vs. intr.), *red* etc.

5.4.2 *Number.* A distinction between pres. sg. *-r* and pl. zero (corresponding to English *comes* vs. *come*) was maintained into the modern period. In stan-

dard speech the mainland languages generalized -r into the pl., probably by 1500, but it was not admitted into writing until the late 19th century in Da NN and BN, and mid-20th century in Sw. The distinction is still made in many rural dialects.

In the pret. the weak verbs lost their distinction early by generalizing the sg. into the pl.: -i/-e replaced the older -u/-o (and other forms). But in the strong verbs the endings, together with the root alternations, were maintained, at least in writing, well into the modern period: Sw *jag var* 'I was', *vi voro* 'we were', Da *jeg gik* 'I went', *vi ginge* 'we went'. These forms are today felt as old-fashioned or poetic. The rule today is therefore that in the pret. strong verbs have *zero suffix* (mostly with vowel alternation), weak verbs -e (*simmad-e, svømmed-e, svømt-e* 'swam') both in sg. and pl.

5.4.3 *Person.* All 1p. sg. forms merged with 2p. and 3p. by adopting the -r which became a marker of the sg. Even a verb like *vera* lost its 1p. sg.: *em* 'am' > *er*. The 1p. pl. *(-um/-om)* maintained itself well into Middle Scand, and even in the Sw Bible (1541) it alternated with unmarked forms. A 19th century Sw poet could use *sjungom* in a student song to mean 'let us sing', continuing an old usage of the 1p. pl. as a pseudo-imperative. Dialects in Bohuslän and Jylland have preserved such forms as *vi binnem* 'we bind'. The -r is originally only 2p. sg. (**-z*), but has proved to be very persistent, having become a general marker of the pres. tense in all the mainland languages. In the pret. the 1p. and 3p. were identical, but the 2p. -t maintained itself well, often in the form -st, e.g. ODa *gikst* '(thou) went'; *skalt/skalst* 'shalt', *ert/est* 'art' contain the same suffix, but are today poetic/obsolete.

We have seen that 2p. pl. -iþ early became -in in ESc; in ONw it became -ir. As mentioned earlier, the consonants -þ and -n were transferred to following pronouns (Ic *þér, þið;* Fa *tit, tygum;* NN *de, dykk;* BN *dere;* Sw *ni*), leaving the verb suffixes vocalic (cf. NN 1C, BN 1C; 4.6, 4.7, 4.8).

5.4.4 *Mood.* Even in CSc the subjunctive was reduced to one set of suffixes applying both to pres. and pret. (5.3.2c, 5.3.3b). In ODa person and number were no longer distinguished, leaving only the characteristic vowel -i (in ODa -æ/-e). OSw still maintained the persons in the pl., identical with the ind. pl., but there was no umlaut of the stem: *vore* '(if I) were' vs. OIc *væri.* In strong pret. the subj. made use of the pl. stem while it still existed: Da *om det hjulpe* 'if it helped' (New Testament 1529). As in this example, the pret. subj. was mostly used in unreal conditions, while the pres. subj. maintained itself primarily in wishes: OSw runic *Guð hialpi and hans* 'God help his spirit' (Södermanland 213).

The simplification of the subjunctive inflection has reached a point approximately identical with that of English. The pres. is used chiefly in *formulaic* wishes, whether positive, like Da BN *kongen leve* '(long) live the king', or negative, like BN *fanden ta ham* 'devil take him'. The suffix is *-e* (unless the stem ends in a long vowel). The corresponding *non-formulaic* usage is with a modal plus inf., e.g. Sw *må det gå honom väl* 'may things go well for him'. In the pret. the subj. is generally identical with the indic., except that in Sw *vore* (along with a few others) is still common in writing, less so in speech: Sw *om jag inte vore så trött* 'if I were not so tired' (Nw and Da only *var*). Wessén gives the following alternative sentences, where the subj. *ginge* feels distinctly old-fashioned: *Om han ändå gick/ginge/ville gå snart!* 'If he only would leave soon'! (VSS 100).

The reduction in function of the subj. is noticeable in the 1200's. Even in Ic the inflections are markedly reduced from 1300 on: the *-a* of the 1p. sg. is replaced by the *-i* of the 3p. (*fari, farir, fari*), the 1p. and 2p. pl. become identical with the indic. (*förum, farið*), while the 3p. pl. is like the 3p. sg. (*fari*). In the pret. the i-umlaut remains, however: *við fórum* 'we left', *við færum* '(that) we might leave'.

The subj. is a highly restricted category in Mod. Sc., most of whose functions have been replaced by syntactic order or by explicit modal auxiliaries. It is another example of the change from synthesis to analysis. (For details on Sw usage see Sundqvist 1955).

5.5 Icelandic

As with nouns, virtually the entire OSc inflectional structure of verbs is intact, aside from the example given above (5.4.4) of the subj. Another (related) change is the replacement of *-a* by 3p. sg. *-i* in the 1p. sg. weak pret., e.g. *ek talda > ég taldi* 'I counted'.

5.6 Faroese

By and large the CSc system is maintained in Fa, but the changes have been greater than in Ic. Very little is left of the distinction of person: all verbs have 1p. sg. *-i*, e.g. *eg eri* 'I am', *havi* 'have', *kasti* 'throw', *lesi* 'read', with some loss of i-umlaut where OSc had it: *'taki'* take (ON *tek*). The 2. and 3. p. sg. both have the suffix *-r*, but with different vowels in each verb class: strong verbs *-ur* (from CSc *-R*) with umlaut (*strúka* 'stroke', pres. *strýkur;*

gjalda 'pay', pres. *geldur*); weak verbs class 1 -*ar,* 2a -*ur,* 2b -*ir* (*biðar* 'waits', *krevur* 'demands', *fylgir* 'follows'), with a number of anomalies, such as 2p. *býrt,* 3p. *býr,* from ON *búa* 'dwell', Fa *búgva* [blgva], clearly influenced by the preterito-presents (2p. *skalt* 'shall', *vilt* 'will'). In the pres. pl. all forms are reduced to the 3p. pl. -*a:* *taka* (we, you, they) 'take', *elska* 'love'.

In the pret. the persons have similarly merged. The weak verbs have only -*i* sg. and -*u* pl.: *kastaði* (I, you, he) 'threw', *kastaðu* (we, you, they) 'threw'. The strong verbs have zero in the 1p. and 3p. sg., -*u* in the pl., but maintain a special 2p. sg. with either -*t* or -*st:* sg. 1p. *streyk,* 2p. *streykst,* 3p. *streyk,* pl. *struku* 'stroke' (but in speech the 2p. is often merged with the 1p. and 3p.). As in Nw and Sw (above 5.4.1) there are many instances of a pret. in -*dd*- when verbs end in long vowels, e.g. *sáddi* 'sowed' (*sáa* inf.), *náddi* 'reached' (*náa* inf.), *glǿddi* 'stared' (*glǿa* inf.). This is regular when the stem ends in (silent) ð: *gleddi* 'gladdened' (*gleða* inf.), *stríddi* 'struggled' (*stríða* inf.).

Subj. is reduced to the suffix -*i* and is about as limited in its use as in the mainland languages: *Gud gævi* 'God give' (i.e. 'grant'). Mediopassive has the form -*st,* which is suffixed to any pres. or pret. form, as well as the non-finite forms: *barðist* 'fought', *heilsast* 'greet' (one another). Imperative, the pret.-pres. verbs, and the perfect are like those of the mainland.

5.7 N-Norwegian (nynorsk)

All inflection for *person* has been leveled out in the pres. under the 3p. suffix, -*r* in weak verbs (*kastar* 'throw(s)', *takkar* 'thank(s)', zero in strong verbs (*skyt* 'shoot(s)', *tek* take(s): inf. *skjota, taka*). Nor is there any inflection for person in the pret. Aasen proposed an inflection for the pl. similar to that which in his time existed in Da and Sw, and for which there was warrant in some Nw dialects. In the pres. this meant zero in weak verbs (*kasta, takka*), unumlauted stem in strong verbs (*skjota, taka*). In the pret. only strong verbs had plurals; as in Sw and Da, the old ablaut stem vowel change plus the suffix -*o:* sg. *fann,* pl. *funno* 'found'; sg. *gav,* pl. *gåvo* 'gave'; sg. *beit,* pl. *bito* 'bit'. While these were accepted by many NN authors, they were felt by others to be restrictive, since few dialects maintained them. The same was true of Aasen's reconstructed weak pret. forms in -*ade,* corresponding to written Sw, but not spoken anywhere in Norway. In 1901 these were officially reduced to -*a* (in class 1 verbs), at the same time as the verb plurals were abolished. In later reforms inf. in -*e* has been admitted, so that a clear distinction exists between inf., pres., and pret. of weak verbs: *kaste, kastar, kasta.* Class 2 verbs generally have pret. forms with -*te* or -*de:* *lyste* 'shone' (inf. *lyse*),

dǿmde 'judged' (inf. *dǿme/dǿmme*), *valde* 'chose' (inf. *velja*). Long-vowel stems usually have *-dde: budde* 'dwelt' (inf. *bu*), *fǿdde* 'bore' (inf. *fǿ, fǿde*).

Inf. may also be *-a,* as Aasen insisted, and the *-a-* surfaces in the mediopassive (*kastast*), pres. part. (*kastande, dǿmande*), and in the perf. part. of class 1 verbs (*kasta*). The perf. part. of strong and class 2 weak verbs may be inflected as an adj. in adjectival use: *dǿmd* m.f., *dǿmt* n., pl. *dǿmde* 'judged'; *komen* m., *komi/komen* f., *kome/komi* n., pl. *komne* 'come'.

5.8   Swedish

Inflection by *person* is long since lost, except as indicated above (5.4.3). In spoken standard Sw *number* has also been absent for a long time, but was not abolished in writing until 1958, although many writers had long since changed to sg. Sw maintains *-a* as the inf. suffix (except in vocalic stems: *bo* dwell, *gå* go), as also in the pres. part. *-ande* (but *-ende* after vowels: *boende, gående*), in the pres. of class 1 verbs (*kastar;* elsewhere *-er* after consonants, *-r* after vowels: *njuter* 'enjoys', *köper* 'buys', *tror* 'believes', *ber* 'asks'), and in the imper. of class 1 verbs: *kalla* 'call!'. Elsewhere the imper. is zero: *tro mig* 'believe me'! The subj. is *-e* in the pres. and (though less used) in the pret.: pres. *frid vare med eder!* 'peace be with you'!; pret. *bleve* 'would become'. The perf. part. has adjectival inflection: *-d, -dd,* or *-t* in weak verbs, *-en* in strong, with corresponding n. *-t, -tt, -t* in weak, *-et* in strong, and pl. *-e* or *-a* in weak, *-na* in strong: *målad/målat/målade* 'painted', *sydd/sytt/ sydda* 'sewn', *skriven/skrivet/skrivna* 'written'. When the perf. part. is used to form the perfect tense, it is called 'supine' and has the n. forms, except that strong verbs end in *-it: han har skrivit* he has written.

The strong verb classes, the preterito-presents, and the weak 1 and 2 classes are maintained, with the addition of the *-dd* class, as mentioned above (5.4.1).

5.9   Danish

Inflection for person and number are absent, although the latter were still used in writing well into the 1900's. The pl. then consisted only in dropping the *-r* of the pres. and using some ablaut variants with *-e* in the strong pret.: *de komme* 'they come', *vi ginge* 'we went' (for *kommer, gik*). In very oldfashioned writing a pl. imper. was found with the suffix *-er: kommer* 'come (ye)', for the usual *kom*.

Strong and weak verbs are kept apart by means of the pres. and pret. inflections, but there is general merger of all vocalic inflections, since Da *-e* replaced the older *-a, -i,* and *-u* (rule Da-I, 2.6.6). Vocalic stems have lost the inf. suffix: *bo* 'dwell' (ESc *bōa*), *bor* pres. Class 2 verbs have consonantal pret. suffixes and often maintain vocalic alternations, but the consonant has usually become *-t-: valgte* 'chose' (CSc *valdi*), *dφmte* 'judged' (CSc *dφmdi*). The disappearance of *-ð-* after consonants threatened to merge pres. and pret.; this was avoided by adoption of the unambiguous *-t-* as a marker of the pret. For the large class 1 the pattern is simple: inf. *-e,* imper. -φ, pres. ind. *-er,* pres. mediop. *-es,* pres. part. *-ende,* pres. subj. *-e,* pret. indic, and subj. *-ede,* pret. indic. mediopass. *-edes,* perf. part. *-et.* When the perf. part. is used as an attributive adj., it may be inflected: *en stjålen cykel* 'a stolen bicycle', *den bedragne* 'the deceived (one)', *de fornærmede* 'the offended (ones)'. But with an auxiliary verb only the n. form may be used: *cyklen er stjålet* 'the bicycle is stolen', *han blev bedraget* 'he was deceived', *hun har fornærmet ham* 'she has offended him'.

5.10 B-Norwegian (bokmål)

All person and number inflections were generally abolished by 1900. The most important change in verb inflection adopted from spoken urban Norwegian in 1907 was the replacementof Da *-ede* in class 1 verbs by *-et: kastet* for *kastede* 'threw'. This form is in competition with the suffix *-a,* which is used in most folk speech. The reforms of 1917 and 1938 encouraged the acceptance of *-a* in BN by making it obligatory in words whose form and meaning associated them with folk life: for older *beislet* 'bridled', *melket* 'milked', *vannet* 'watered' pupils were required to write *beisla, mjφlka, vatna,* in the hope that it would spread to all verbs. Class 2 verbs like *valgte* 'chose' (inf. *velge*) and *dφmte* 'judged' (inf. *dφmme*) usually have the pret. suffix *-te*. Pres. of strong verbs is never umlauted as in NN: *kommer* 'comes' (NN *kjem*). Verbs with vocalic stems have their preterites in *-dde,* as in Sw and NN: *bodde* 'dwelt', *sådde* 'sowed', *rådde* 'ruled' (also *rådet,* inf. *råde*), *fφdde* 'fed' (inf. *fφ,* also *fφde,* pret. *fφdet,* esp. in sense of childbearing). BN may be said to have one rather conservative, élitist norm, which is firmly maintained under the name of *riksmål,* and another, more elastic norm which is the result of pressure to Norwegianize it. It is therefore not always easy to state just what the norm is at any given moment. To know the current line one needs to read the latest official spelling lists (Haugen 1966).

5.11 Summary

As with the nouns, it is obvious that the mainland languages have developed a *common verb system*, with minor deviations. Sw and NN are relatively more conservative in maintaining a distinction between historical *-a* and *-e*, which have merged as *-e* in Da and BN. *Person* and *number* are eliminated from the verb system, while *mood* is severely limted to a single form each for the subj. and the imper. But the *tense* system is intact, and so are the major stem irregularities that are inherited in the system of *strong* and *weak* verbs. There are still several conjugations, but for each verb there is only one morph for each of the following forms: (a) the *finite* pres., pret., imper., and subj.; (b) the *non-finite* infinitive, pres. part., and perf. part. (except for the possibility of inflecting the latter as an adj.).

In the following comparative table each verb class is represented by one typical stem; minor rules and exceptions are omitted. Taking the stems in each class, it should then be possible to add the suffixes in the second table to get the proper form. Some adjustments will have to be made, e.g. in Sw the pres. sg. *-er* is lost after *r* and *l (far, tal)* and *giver* has now become *ger*.

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For further references see the bibliography of the preceding chapter.

Table 50. Verb Stem Classes in Modern Sc

	Principal Parts (Stems)	Strong							Weak			
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2a	2b	3
Ic	Pres.	bít-	njót-	finn-	ber-	gef-	far-	grát-	kasta-	vel(j)-	dæm(i)-	trú(i)-
	Pret. Sg.	ei	au	a	a	a	ó	é	kasta-ð-	ˈval-d-	dæm-d-	tru(a)-ð
	Pl.	i	u	u	á	á	ó	é				
	Perf. P.	i	o	u	o	e	a	á				
Fa	Pres.	bít-	njót-	finn-	ber-	gev-	far-	grát-	kasta-	vel(j)-	døm(i)-	trú(gv)-
	Pret. Sg.	ei	ey	a	a	a	ó	æ	kasta-ð-	val-d-	døm-d-	trú-ð-
	Pl.	i	u	u	ó	ó	ó	ó				
	Perf. P.	i	o	u	o	i	a	á				
NN	Pres.	bit-	njot-	finn-	ber-	gjev-	far-	grát-	kasta-	vel(j)-	døm(e)-	tru-
	Pret.	ei	au	a	a	a	o	e	kasta-	val-d-	døm-d-	tru-dd-
	Perf. P.	i	o	u	o	e	a	ȧ				

(con.)

	Principal Parts (Stems)	Strong							Weak			
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2a	2b	3
Sw	Pres.	*bit-*	*njut-*	*finn-*	*bär-*	*giv-*	*far-*	*grå̊t-*	*kasta-*	*väl(j)-*	*döm-*	*tro-*
	Pret.	*e*	*ö*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*o*	*ä*	*kasta-d-*	*val-d-*	*döm-d-*	*tro-dd-*
	Perf. P.	*i*	*u*	*u*	*u*	*i*	*a*	*å*				
Da	Pres.	*bid-*	*nyd-*	*find-*	*bær-*	*giv-*	*far-*	*græd-*	*kast-*	*velg-*	*dømm-*	*(tro-*
	Pret.	*e*	*ø*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*o*	*æ*	*kast-ed-*	*valg-t-*	*dømt-*	*tro-ed-)*
	Perf. P.	*i*	*y*	*u*	*å̊*	*i*	*a*	*æ*				
BN	Pres.	*bit-*	*nyt-*	*finn-*	*bær-*	*gi(v)-*	*far-*	*grå̊t-*	*kast-*	*velg-*	*dømm-*	*tro-*
	Pret.	*e*	*ø*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*o*	*å*	*kast-et*	*valg-t-*	*dømt-*	*tro-dd-*
	Perf. P.	*i*	*y*	*u*	*å̊*	*i*	*a*	*å*				
		'bite'	'enjoy'	'find'	'bear'	'give'	'go'	'weep'	'throw'	'choose'	'judge'	'believe'

Table 51. System of Verbal Inflections in Modern Sc

		Suffixes on Present Stem					
Lang	Cl	Pres. Ind. 1p. 2p. 3p.		Pres. Subj. 1p. 2p. 3p.	Inf.	Imp.	Pres. Part.
Ic	Str	Sg. $-^i\emptyset$ $-^iur$ $-^iur$ Pl. -um -ið -a		-i -ir -i -um -ið -i	-a	-∅ -um -ið	-andi
	Wk	Sg. -∅ -r -r Pl. -um -ið -a		-i -ir -i -um -ið -i			
Fa	Str.	Sg. -i $-^iur$ $-^iur$ Pl. -a		-i	-a	-∅ -ið	-andi

	Wk	Sg. -i -ar -ar
		      -ir -ir
		      -ur -ur
		Pl. -a
						”
						”	

NN	Str	$-^i\emptyset$ -r		-e	-a (-e)	-∅	-ande
	Wk	-er -ar					
Sw	Str	-r -'er		-e	-a	-∅	-ande -ende
	Wk	-ar -er -r					
Da	Str	-'er		-e	-e	-∅	-ende
	Wk	-(e)r					
BN	Str	-'er		-e	-e	-∅	-ende
	Wk	-(e)r					

Mediopassive: -st Ic Fa NN, -s Sw Da BN

Suffixes on Preterite Stem								
Pret. Ind. 1p.	2p.	3p.	Pret. Subj. 1p.	2p.	3p.	Perf. Part. m.	f.	n.
Sg. -∅	-st	-∅	-i	-ir	-i	-inn	-in	-ið
Pl. -um	-uð	-u	-um	-uð	-u	-nir	-nar	-in
Sg. -i	-ir	-i	-i	-ir	-i	-ur	-^{u}∅	-ð
Pl. -um	-uð	-u	-um	-uð	-u	-ir	-ar	-∅
Sg. -∅	-st	-∅		←		-in	-in	-ið
-u						-nir	-nar	-in
-i				←		-ur	-∅	-∅/-t
-u						-ir	-ar	-∅
-∅			-∅			-en	-en/-i,	-e
-e			-e			-∅	-∅	-∅/-t
-∅			-∅			-en		-et -it
-e			-e			-∅		-t(t)
-∅			-∅				-(e)t	
-e			-e			(-en		-et)
-∅			-∅				-(e)t	
-∅/-e			-∅/-e				-∅	

Chapter 6

Syntax

6.0   Introduction

There is no clear border between *morphology,* the structure of the word, and *syntax,* the structure of the sentence. The inflections presented in chapters 4 and 5 have as their chief function to help signal the syntactic structures. Derived and compound words are reduced syntactic constructions. On the other hand, sentences are part of larger contexts and gain their actual, as distinct from their potential meanings, when we know who is speaking to whom, when, where, and why. Sentences vary from fragmentary to complex units, which are rarely as clearly marked as in writing. Still there is good precedent for studying sentences in isolation and leaving the study of context to a higher level of analysis. The sentence joins into a new *Gestalt* the elements we have so far described in the morphology.

In Scandinavian (as in English) the kernel of the sentence is the *finite verb* (V_f), i.e. a verb that carries a tense marker. Some V_f function as auxiliaries (V_{aux}) to non-finite verb forms, e.g. *have done, shall go, is being built,* which make up verb phrases (VP), in which the V_f comes first in a normal declarative sentence. To the VP (which may be only the simple V_f) is commonly attached a subject (S), expressed or understood, which is the starting point of the statement made by the verb. Many verbs require and others permit the presence of an object (O), which is the goal or end point of the action or statement. Some (like *give, tell*) may have two objects, one indirect (O_i) for the recipient and one direct (O_d) for the thing received. The S and O are usually noun phrases (NP), on which see 6.9. The NP may be modified by adjectives (A), and these as well as the VP by adverbs (Av). Simple clauses (sentences with only one VP) may be joined together into complex and compound sentences, with or without conjunctions (C).

In the following concentrated sketch only major constructions can be included. For each of these the rules of CSc/OSc will be taken as a norm, as this is found in runic inscriptions and early manuscripts. Notes on previous and later development will suggest the directions of change.

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These topics will be considered: word order (6.1), congruence (6.2), government (6.3), tense and aspect (6.4), modality (6.5), voice and predication (6.6), verb phrases (6.7), modification (6.8), the noun phrase (6.9), complex and compound sentences (6.10), and ellipsis (6.11).

6.1   Word Order

The order in which the words and phrases of a sentence are arranged is not random, but is so structured as to help bring out its total meaning. The modern Sc languages are predominantly S-V-O languages, i.e. with the verb in second position in the normal declarative sentence. The other possible orders are found in such languages as Finnish and Japanese (S-O-V) or Arabic and Celtic (V-S-O). (Greenberg 1966). The Indo-European mother tongue of both Scandinavian and English is generally agreed to have been an S-O-V language (Delbrück 1900, 3.110). The change-over from O-V to V-O seems not to have been completed in the Proto-Scandinavian runic inscriptions (Lehmann 1971, 1978). O-V languages often use postpositions instead of prepositions, e.g. Finnish *metsä-ssä* or Japanese *mori-ni* 'forest-in' for Sc *i skogen* 'in the forest'. O-V languages also tend to place adverbs, auxiliaries, noun modifiers, and comparatives before the elements they modify, i.e. modifier – head (Venneman 1974). It has been claimed that O-V languages need more inflections in order to keep the S and O apart, especially when they are reordered for emphatic purposes, e.g. BN *Ham kjenner du* 'You know *him*'. A study of Old Norse from this point of view showed that it is "mixed", with some orders that are typically O-V, others V-O (Kossuth 1978).

6.1.1 *Proto-Scandinavian.* A number of the earliest inscriptions, which may be classified as North/West Germanic, have O-V order. Our examples are taken from the corpus as transcribed by Krause/Jankuhn (1966). These have the V in final position:

```
         S                      O     V    S
(1)    Ek Hlewagastiz Holtijaz horna tawido 'I Hlewagastiz, son of Holti,
         V        O
       made (the) horn' (Gallehus horn, c. 400 A.D.).
         S              O    V    S              V           O
(2)    [Ek Go]dagastiz runo faihido 'I, Godagastiz painted (the) runes'
       (Einang stone, c. 350–400).
```

```
         S                              V           S
```
(3) *Ek Wīwaz after Woduride wita[n]dah(a)laiban wor(a)htō...* 'I Wiwaz
```
                            V       O
```
after Woduridaz (the) lord wrought [the runes] (Tune, c. 400).

In the later, purely Sc inscriptions, the V-O order predominates (described by Antonsen 1975, 25, as a "dramatic change"):
```
         S                   V       O        S               V
```
(4) *Ek Hagustal(l)daz hl(a)aiwido magu minino* 'I, Hagustaldaz, buried
```
         O
```
my son' (Kjølevik, c. 450).
```
         S                V    O     S   V          O
```
(5) *Haþuwol(a)fA[z] sAte stAbA þria* 'H. set three staves' (Gummarp, c. 600).

It is noteworthy that in these examples modifiers follow their heads (H-M), as expected in V-O languages: (5) *magu minino*, (6) *stAba þria*. The only relative clause is also H-M, but internally it has O-V order:

```
         H ( O     V ) H     ( V     O )
```
(6)   ... *sa'z þat b(a)rūtz* 'he who breaks it' (Björketorp, 600–650);
```
              H ( O      V  )
```
similarly:... *sA þat b(A)riutiþ* (Stentoften, same period).

6.1.2 *From P-Sc to Common Scandinavian.* In the specifically Scandinavian period (c. 550–1050) there is a trend toward V-O order, but still with considerable freedom.

The initial position occupied by the S could also be used for *highlighting* elements of the predicate. Also called topicalization, foregrounding, or marking, this meant turning the initial spot over to the object or to an adjective or adverb, which required moving the S after the V.

```
         S   Vf  Av  S      V    Av    Av   Vf S    Av    S
```
(7) *Faðir skrifar nú* 'Father is writing now' > *Nú skrifar faðir* 'Now father
```
         V
```
is writing.'
```
         S   Vf     V  O    Av   S   Vf   V   O     Av      Av
```
(8) *Móðir mun skrifa bréf í dag* 'Mother will write letters today' > *Í dag*
```
         Vf    S    V   O    O  Vf   S    V    Av
```
mun móðir skrifa bréf/Bréf mun móðir skrifa í dag.

In these examples the Vf remains in second position, while the S moves to a positions after the V. The fronting of *nú* 'now', *í dag* 'today', or *bréf* 'letter(s)' may express contrast or simply mark the connection with a preceding sentence.

If the S-slot is left empty, putting the V first, the result is to turn the sentence into a question:

```
        V   S   Av   Vf S    V    Av
(9)   Skrifar faðir nú? 'Is father writing now?
```

The question order also applies if the question is introduced by a question word like 'what', 'where', 'when', 'who(m)', 'how' etc.

```
        O   V   S   Av   O  Vf  S    V    Av
(10)  Hvat skrifar faðir nú? 'What is father writing now?'
```

The question order with initial V is also an if-clause, in case it is followed by a main clause:

```
      (  V    S  Av)  V  S  Av₁ V  Pp  O  (  S   Vf  V   Av )
(11)  Skrifar faðir nú, mun ek ekki tala við hann. 'If father is writing now,
      S  Vf  Av₁  V  Pp   O
      I shall not speak with him'.
```

A careful comparison of the ON examples with the English glosses will show some marked differences in order.

In ON the considerable freedom of word order appears also in the possibility of placing the Vf first without producing either a question or an if-clause. If sentence (9) is placed in a narrative context, with other parallel verbs, it may be used as a declarative sentence; we shall call this *narrative inversion* and note that it is less often used for emphasis than for sentence sequence and impersonal verbs:

```
       V        O(S)     Av    Oᵢ    V   S   Av₁   Av₂
(12)  Fýste hann þórð sem fyrst burtreiðar. Reið þórðr þaðan vestr...
       S     V        O      S   V  Av₁     Av₂
      'Thordr wanted an early departure. Thordr rode away to the west...'
      (Heusler 1932, 173).
```

A quantitative study of ON prose (Kossuth 1978) showed that in sentence-

initial position S-V was twice as frequent as V-S (1,556 to 745, or 67,6 o/o, in four sagas). V-S occurred frequently after *ok* 'and' in ongoing narrative and in legal formulas, but was rare after the relative particles *er* and *sem* (i.e. in embedded clauses):

(13) *Ok fylgir henni heiman Sæból* 'And came with her (dat.) from home Sæbol (nom.), i.e. 'And (the farm) Sæból came with her from home (as dowry)' (*Gísl* ch. 5). [For a list of texts used see end of chapter].

(14) *Allmikit er um yðr Haukdǿla, er þér gáið einskis annars en at drekka* 'The big thing about you Haukdalers is that you pay no attention to anything except drinking' (*Gísl* ch. 6).

6.1.3 *Modern Scandinavian.* The loss of noun and verb inflections (above 4.11, 5.11) has been compensated for by a more rigid word order. Inversion of S and V is primarily for questions and if-clauses. In declarative sentences adverbs are freely fronted, but less often objects, e.g. *Alfred ser Hans* can normally mean only that Alfred is S and Hans O: 'Alfred sees Hans'. Narrative inversion is lost, although it survived into early modern times in formal style, especially after 'and'.

The mainland languages have developed a syntactic ordering that is nearly uniform, with some deviations that will be listed below. The development of the indef. art. did not reach Icelandic, which uses an indef. pron. like *nokkur* 'some' or *einhver* 'any' when it is needed.

Ic has also retained the H-M order for demonstratives, possessives, and genitives, e.g. *lestrarbók þessa* 'this reader', *í skólum vorum* 'in our schools', *hús Jóns* 'John's house', *morgun lífsins* 'life's morning' (cf. Da *denne læsebog, i vore skoler, Jons hus, livets morgen*). Ic has also retained the postposition of sentence adverbs in embedded clauses:

(15) *Ef hann kemur ekki...* 'If he doesn't come...' (Cf. BN *Om han ikke kommer...*

Faroese has also retained some ON orderings, e.g. *stavur mín* 'my stick'; cf. also Nw *staven min,* but Da Sw *min stav.*

6.2 Congruence

In an inflected language like ON, the relationship of S and V is formally marked by the suffixes of each. The S is nominative in form, while the V_f 'agrees' with the person (1., 2., 3.) and number of the S.

		S		V	O	Q	V	S	Av	(C	S	V	Av)		S

(16) ON *Konungr spyrr Hauk, "Hví ferr þú svá sem ek vill eigi?"* 'The king

		V		O		Q	V$_f$	S		V	(C S V$_f$ Av V)			

asks Haukr, "Why are you doing as I do not wish?' The subjects are
nom. (*-r* on *konungr*, *þú* and *ek* by nature). The verbs are 3. p. sg.
(*-r* on *spyrr*), 2. p. (*-r* on *ferr*), 1. p. (*vill*); corresponding pl.: *spyrja,
farið, viljum.*

An approximate translation into BN would show none of these markers,
except for the pronominal forms (*du, jeg*):

(17) BN *Kongen spør Hauk, "Hvorfor gjør du så som jeg ikke vil?"*

If there is more than one S, the V should be pl., but may be sg. if the nearest
S is sg.:

(18) ON *Stóð Erlingr ok synir hans næst stofunni* 'Erling and his sons
stood (sg.) nearest the house' (*OH* 119, 14). Here *stóð* replaces
expected *stóðu.*

When the S is a presentational (and therefore n. sg.) *þat* 'it', the V may be
pl. to agree with the predicate N:

(19) OSw *þat eru synir Ásgeirs* 'That is (lit. 'are') (the) sons of Asgeir'
(U 473).

6.2.1 The availability of verb inflection made it possible to manage entirely
without a S in so-called "impersonal" sentences. These have no proper agent,
and emphasis is on the action (often climatic) or sensation (often emotional)
(exx. all ON):

(20) *Rignir í dag* '(It) is raining today'.
(21) *Bítr vel* '(It, i.e. the fish) is biting well.'
(22) *Ísa leysti* '(It) loosened (the) ice (acc. pl.)', i.e. the ice broke up (*OH*
198,2).
(23) *Mik dreymir* '(It) dreams me (acc.)', i.e. 'I dream'.
(24) *Brá honum við* '(It) started him (dat.)', i.e. 'He started'.
(25) *Sleit svá þinginu* '(It) concluded so the meeting' (dat.), i.e. 'So the
meeting ended'.

As sentences (22) to (25) show, potentially intransitive verbs in such sentences can take the 'logical' subject as an object, either in the acc. (22, 23) or dat. (24, 25) case.

Except in archaizing style, the mainland languages have either supplied an impersonal subject (*det* 'it') in (20) and (21), or made the old objects into subjects in (22–25). Even Ic has introduced a subject in climatic verbs: *hann* (or *það*) *rignir, það snjóar* 'it's raining, snowing'. But the other verbs cited still occur with dat. or acc. objects, at least in certain constructions: *mig bítur í eyrun* 'me (it) bites in the ears', i.e. 'my ears smart', *snjóinn leysir* 'the snow (acc.) is melting', *mig dreymdi draum* 'I (acc.) dreamt a dream', *honum brá við þetta* 'he (dat.) started at that', *þar sleit tali þeirra* 'there ended their speech (dat.)'. (Exx. from Böðvarsson 1963).

Other examples of Ic preservation of subjectless impersonals are:

(26) *Mér er illt í höfði* 'I have a headache' (lit. 'To me is painful in head'). Cf. Da *Jeg har ondt i hovedet.*

(27) *Mig þyrstir/ég er þyrstur* 'I am thirsty'. Cf. Sw *Jag törstar/jag är törst.*

(28) *Mér finnst (það), að...* 'I find (this), that...' = 'I think. ;.' (lit. 'To me is found...'). Cf. BN *Jeg synes at...'*

But the general trend has been to fill the subject slot with an active S or with a pronoun filler:

(29) ON Ic *sýnisk (-st) mér, þykkir mér* 'I think' > Da BN *jeg synes*, 'I think', *det synes* 'it appears'; Sw *jag tycker* 'I think', *det tycks* 'it appears'.

(30) ON *várar, várast* 'spring is coming' > Ic *það vorar, vorast,* Da DN *det våres,* NN *det vårast,* Sw *det våras.*

(31) ON *drepr á dyrr* '(there) is a knocking on the door' > Ic *það drepur á dyr,* Da BN *det banker på døren,* Sw *det knackar på dörren,* NN *det bankar på døra.*

6.3 Government

While S and V show mutual dependence in ON, the V is said to "govern" or dominate its *object*. Just as there are verbs without an expressed subject, so there are many without an expressed object, known as *intransitive*. These contain the goal of the action within themselves, or it takes the form of modifiers that are adverbial rather than nominal: *come, go, swim (home, away, to the beach)*. When nominal objects do exist, they are often only specifi-

cations or features of the action itself: *sing a song, think a thought; walk a step, run a race.* In the normal *transitive* verb the object may be a goal, a beneficiary, a tool, or the like. The semantic relationship of head and modifier is not simple.

In ON the one-way directionality of this relationship is reflected in the absence of any influence on the form of the V from the O. But the form of the O is determined by the nature of the V, as shown in a choice between its three case forms. Like prepositions, with which they have much in common) (6.8.2a), verbs require that objects be either in the *accusative* (acc., 6.3.1), the *dative* (dat., 6.3.2), or the *genitive* (gen., 6.3.3). The semantic qualities of the V that determine which case to use are arbitrary and complex. The acc. is said to mark a *direct* object, the dat. an *indirect* object, the gen. an object of *personal interest.* Some verbs govern more than one, often with different meanings. The possibilities must be specified in the lexicon. CSc government rules are sometimes involved in the loss of verbal prefixes (7.2.1).

6.3.1 *Accusative.* The acc. usually marks the goal of an action, e.g. choosing a king:

(32) OSw *Nu þorfwä land kunung wäliä* 'Now need (the) lands (nom.) (i.e. regions) (a) king (acc.) to choose' (*UL*).

Some special uses of the acc. are illustrated:

(33) ON *sofa langa svefn* 'sleep (a) long sleep (acc.)'.
(34) ON *hǫggva hann banahǫgg* 'strike him (acc.) (a) death blow (acc.)'
(35) ON *drekka sér lítit vit* 'drink (to) oneself (dat.) little wit (acc.)', i.e. 'drink oneself senseless'.
(36) ON *þeir kalla hana Ingibjǫrgu* 'they call her (acc.) Ingibjǫrg (acc.)'. The second acc. here is an abbreviated sentence: 'She is Ingibjorg'.

6.3.2 *Dative.* Actions involving a beneficiary rather than a goal are often specified as taking a dative, with or without an accusative (as in (35) above):

(37) OSw *Guð... forgefi hanum sakaR auk syndiR* 'God forgive him (dat.) (his) crimes and sins (acc.)' (U 323).
(38) ON *þeir flétta hann klæðum ok gripum* 'They strip him (acc.) of (his) clothes and valuables (dat.)' (*Flat* I 555,1).

As (38) shows, the dat. may also be used as a semantic ablative, a case lost

in Scand. It has also absorbed the functions of the IE instrumental, being used with verbs of movement or activity to mark the instrument: *kasta steini* 'throw (with) a stone', *stýra skipi* 'steer (with) a ship', *sá korni* 'sow (with) grain', *blóta mǫnnum* 'sacrifice (with) men':

(39) OSw *eR ā Englandi aldri týnþi* 'who in England (his) life (dat.) lost' (Vg 187).

6.3.3 *Genitive.* A small number of verbs require one of its objects to be in the gen. case, mostly verbs of asking, needing, seeking, stealing, and the like:

(40) OSw *Hann bað sēr konu þeirrar* 'He asked (for) himself (dat.) woman this (gen.)', i.e. 'he asked for this woman in marriage' (*VgL* I).

(41) ON *Hvers vilið þér mik beiða?* 'For what (gen.) will you me (acc.) ask?', i.e. 'What will you ask of me?' (*Hkr* 1.306).

(42) ON *Freista má ek þess* 'Try can I this (gen.)', i.e. 'I can try this' (*ES* ch. 245).

6.3.4 With the *loss of case distinctions* in the nouns, the relationships expressed by them were transferred to preps. or to the word order. In sentences like (32) and (39) the objects now follow the verbs: Sw *välja konung, tappa livet;* similarly (42): NN *eg kan freista dette.* When there are two objects, the indirect object precedes the direct, as in (37) and (40), cf. BN *han fant seg en kone* 'he found himself a wife'. As this example shows, the pronoun usually marks an object relationship (*mig/meg, dig/deg, sig/seg, os/oss* etc.), but only a dative-type relationship preceding a noun: BN *han gav meg boka* 'he gave me the book'. If the recipient is to be singled out, a prepositional phrase is used: *han gav boka til meg* 'he gave the book to *me.*' The instrumental may, but does not have to be, marked by prepositions, as are many of the other relationships:

(43) Da *Hun kastede med hovedet* 'She tossed [with] (her) head'.

(44) Sw *Han har blivit bestulen på sitt fickur* (Da *Han er blevet bestjålet for sit lommeur*) 'He has been robbed of his watch.' Note the difference in prepositions.

The fixing of indirect object before direct object is O-V (M-H), but the placement of prepositional phrases after the kernel is V-O (H-M).

6.4   Tense and Aspect

In Sc, as in other Gmc languages, there are two inflectionally marked tenses: *present* (pres.) and *preterite* (pret.) (5.1). On expressions for the future see 5.3.4c. The semantically unmarked present can refer to past, present, or future, provided it includes (either really or by convention) the moment of speaking. Preterite is marked as referring to a time prior to the moment of speaking (however short):

(45)   ODa *þoriR rispi stin panni* 'Thorir raised (pret.) this stone'. (*DR* 109).

6.4.1 CSc narrative is fond of what is often called the *historical present,* which is thought (in modern prose) to reflect vivid style, the narrator's sense that what he/she is telling is immediately present before the speaker. In OIc sagas the tense shifts too readily for the change to count as a deliberate device. The shifting is less common in dialogue; in narrative it seems to be part of the story-teller's vacillation between the two points of view:

(46)   ON *En Loki fór fyrir ok leggst niðr í milli steina tveggja; drógu þeir netit yfir hann* 'But Loki *went* ahead and *lies* down between two stones; they *drew* the net over him (*SnE Gylf* ch. 50).

In OSc it was obviously felt to be sufficient to mark the pret. by occasional use and then revert to the less highly marked pres. In ModSc it is still used, but now more consistently and self-consciously, as a device to mark orality, probably more often than in Eng.

6.4.2 The rise of new periphrastic perfects (including pluperfect and future perfect) has been discussed above (5.3.4b). Their use in modern Scand to express speaker's *inference* (like Eng 'must have') is not known in OSc (nor in Eng; see Haugen 1972):

(47)   BN *Hun har sett sin bror i går* 'She must (no doubt; I suspect) have seen her brother yesterday'.

6.4.3 *Durative* and *iterative* aspects of action are expressed in the Mod. Scand languages by complex verb phrases, not by the Eng use of present part. ("I am eating"). One of the most popular is the use of a verb of position joined to the verb of action by *og/och* 'and':

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(48) Fa *Vit sótu og prataði* 'We sat and chatted', best tr. as 'We were chatting' (BN *Vi satt og pratet;* Da *Vi sad og sludrede;* Sw *Vi satt och pratade.*

Verbs of standing, walking, or lying can be employed, according to circumstances; the verbs are in the same form as the main verb, and their force is to make the latter durative.

Iterative action is expressed by repetition of the verb:

(49) BN *De slo og slo* 'They kept hitting'; Da *Manden gik og gik* 'The man walked and walked' (kept walking for a long time).

In Ic innovative forms have been developed with the infinitive: a durative *ég er að koma* 'I am coming'; a perfective *ég er búinn að borða* 'I am through eating, I have eaten'; an inchoative *ég fer að gera það* 'I am about to do it', and a future of necessity *ég verð að gera það* 'I shall (have to) do it'.

6.4.4 *Expressive preterite.* A present taste or sensation is idiomatically couched in the pret., giving it emphatic force:

(50) BN *Det smakte deilig!* 'That tastes (lit. tasted) delicious'.
(51) Sw *Det var då det fräckaste!* 'That is (lit. was) the most outrageous [thing I've heard]!'

6.5 Modality

In CSc/OSc the *subjunctive* and *imperative* modes were expressed by inflectionally marked verb forms (see 5.2.2c, d; 5.2.3b; 5.3.2c, d; 5.3.3b). The restriction of the subj. and its partial replacement by modal auxiliaries is discussed above (5.4.4). Here are some examples of their use.

6.5.1 *Subjunctive.* This mode marks hypothetical or desirable/undesirable actions, contrasting with the actual actions marked by the indicative.

The pres. expresses wishes, requests, or orders:

(52) OSw *Rāþi sāR kunni* 'Let read the one who may be able' (Sö 213).
(53) ODa *þōrr wīgi þessi kuml* 'May Thor bless this memorial' (*DR* 110).
(54) OSw *Brinnr kirkja af wangeymu, klokkari bø̄ti xl markir* 'If (a) church burns from neglect, let the sexton pay a fine of 40 marks' (*DL*).

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The pret. more often expresses contrary-to-fact or hypothetical conditions:

(55)   OIc *Fúsir værim vér at gerast hans menn* 'Eager we would be to be-
        come his men' (*OH* 48,10).

As in the Eng translations, modal auxiliaries have taken over many of the
subj. functions. The pres. subj. *-e* retains the function of wishes, good or bad:
BN *Kongen leve!* '(Long) live the king'!, *Fanden skjære* 'Devil take (it)!' In the
pret. the simple indicative has replaced the subj. in most contexts: Da *Om vi
var. . .* 'if we were. . .', *kunne vi bare. . .* '(if) we only could'. Writers of Sw
(and some formal speakers) have retained a marked pret. in this function:
Om vi vore. . . 'if we were. . .', *finge jag bara. . .* 'if only I could. . .', *om jag
bara bleve frisk* 'if I only would become well'. In informal speech the verb
forms here would be *var, fick, blev.*

On the use of subj. in embedded clauses, see below (6.10.3a).

6.5.2 The *imperative* implies a 2. pers. subject, which may be expressed
either as a vocative noun or a pronoun (or both):

(56)   ODa *Niut wæl kum(l)s* 'Enjoy well (your) memorial'! (*DR* 239).
(57)   ODa *Niaut ku(m)bls þormōðr* 'Enjoy (your) memorial, Thormod'!
        (*DR* 211).
(58)   OSw *Rāð þū rūnaR* 'Read thou (the) runes'! (U 11).

In the 1p. and 2p. pl. the indic. may function as an imperative:

(59)   OIc *Skiljumk heilir* 'Let us part well'! i.e. farewell! (*Grp* 53).

6.6. Voice and Predication

Voice is a set of inflections and constructions that mark a verb as either
active or *passive* (5.3.4a). The distinction depends on whether a verb is
inherently transitive, stative, or mediopassive. Generally speaking, a con-
struction is active if the V is an act performed *by* the S, passive if it is per-
formed *on* the S. These examples illustrate one ON way of making the
distinction:

(60)   Active: ON *Flestir bǿndr seru jarðir sínar* 'Most farmers (nom.)
        sowed their fields (acc.) (*Fris* 105).

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(61)   Passive: ON *Um vár eru akrar sánir* 'In the spring fields (nom.) are sown' (FT 1900, 165).

Sá 'sow' is a trans. V, which can be either active or passive. Passive is the 'marked' form, in which the O is promoted to S (receiving nom. case form), making it the *topic;* the V is changed to passive, and the old S is either dropped entirely (as above) or mentioned incidentally in a prepositional phrase (in ModSc with *af/av* 'by'). The whole focus and perspective of the sentence is transformed.

6.6.1 *Stative* verbs predicate that something *is* or *becomes* something else. They are followed, not by objects, but by *predicate nouns* (or adjectives). In principle the PN (or Adj) should have the same case as the S, i.e. nom. This was true in OSc, and still holds in Ic and Fa. With the loss of case forms the problem is eliminated in ModSc, except for the personal pronouns, e.g. 'I' and 'me'. In common phrases of the type 'It is I/me', Da and BN treat the pronoun as an object: Da *Det er mig,* BN *Det er meg.* NN (and Nw dialects) as well as Sw retain the older form: NN *Det er eg,* Sw *Det är jag.* The same rule applies after 'than': Da *større end mig* 'larger than me/I'. Note the parallel to French *c'est moi.*

6.6.2 *Passive auxiliaries.* The oldest (and general Gmc) passive was formed with *vera* 'be' plus the perf. part:

(62)   OSw *Twalf sinnum wāRin numnaR* Twelve times (they) were taken' (Rök stone).

This form was strictly predicative, the participle being adjectival and agreeing with the S (here pl.). For actions still going on, *verða* 'become' came into use:

(63)   ON *(þeir) verða ekki fundnir* 'They are not (being) found' (*Gísl* ch. 56).

This passive is still unusual in the *Poetic Edda* (800–1000) and only gradually replaced *vera* for ongoing action in classical ON prose. It is a Gmc innovation (Wessén 3.171). The passive with *vera* could still be found in formal prose well into early modern Sc (FT 166).

  Under MLG influence *verða* was in turn replaced from c. 1300 by *bliva* in Da and BN, in part in Sw and NN, but not in Fa and Ic (Markey 1969).

6.6.3 *Mediopassive.* The most characteristic Sc form of passivization, as pointed out above (5.3.4a), is the suffix *-s* or *-st*. Originating as a reflexive, with affixation of *sik* (or *mik*), it has come to fulfill the roles of the lost IE mediopassive as a reciprocal, deponent, and passive. Its use is lexicalized and idiomatic: verbs in *-s(t)* must usually be listed as independent lexical items. E.g. BN *minne* 'remind' → *minnes* 'remember', *syne* 'show' → *synes* 'think'; ModSc *slå* 'strike' → *slås/slåss/slåst* 'fight'. A true passive can be formed with transitive verbs, e.g. Sw *Hon slår gräset* 'she mows the grass' vs. *Gräset slås* 'The grass is (being) mowed'. But the more commonly spoken form would be *Gräset blir slagit,* with the periphrastic passive. Only when a modal precedes and the V is inf., is the passive *-s* common in speech: *Gräset skall slås* 'The grass is to be mowed". In impersonal expressions the mediopassive can even be used with intransitive verbs:

(64)   Sw *Det dansades hela natten* 'It was danced all night', i.e. 'There was dancing all night'.

The passive is not only a way of focusing on an action or topicalizing an object; it is also a way of avoiding the mention of an agent. It assumes the existence of an agent (Holm 1952), but need not name it, whether because the agent is unknown, unimportant, or inappropriate.

6.7   Verb Phrases

Verbs may either be simple V_f (as noted above in 6.0) or function as V_{aux} plus *main* verbs. The form of the main verb is *non-finite,* having either a noun-like form called *infinitive* or an adjective-like form called *participle,* which may be either *present* or *perfect.*

The auxiliaries that govern inf. are *modal* (Eng *can, shall, must* etc.), while those that govern the perf. part. are either *perfect* (Eng. *have, had*) or *passive* (Eng *be,* Scand *vera, verða*). Contrary to Eng, Scand has not developed verb phrases with pres. part. (*are going,* etc.); when these occur, they are purely adjectival: BN *Jeg er gående* 'I am on foot'. Auxiliaries may be combined, but with some limitations that differ in each language. It is a general rule that only one may be finite (the nexus verb), in first (verb) position, making the rest non-finite:

(65)   BN *Jeg har måttet gjøre det* 'I have (fin.) had to (p.p.) do (inf.) it'.
(66)   BN *Jeg må ha kunnet gjøre det* 'I must (fin.) have (inf.) been (p.p.)

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able to do (inf.) it. Note that in Eng periphrastic forms must replace the modals (*have to, be able*); only in substandard does one hear 'I must have could'.

(67)   ON *Ek mun hafa verit barinn* 'I will (fin.) have (inf.) been (p.p.) beaten (p.p.)'.

6.7.1 *Infinitive.* The modals that governed the inf. directly in OSc were *kunna* 'be able', *mega* 'be able', *láta* 'cause, let', *munu* 'shall, will', *skulu* 'shall, must', *vilja* 'will', all of which have survived into modern Sc, and one which has not, *knega* 'be able'. The inf. acts as a direct object with either active or passive form and meaning. But after *láta* 'cause' an active inf. may have passive meaning:

(68)   OSw *þeir lētu braut ryðja ok brōar gera* 'They caused roads to be cleared and bridges to be built' (U 101).

Other modals developed in Sc are *bör/bør* 'ought', *får* 'may, must', NN *ljota* 'must', Sw *lär* 'is said (supposed) to', Sw *måste* 'must' (MLG), *tör/tør* 'dare'. Most of these convey also some degree of futurity (5.3.4c).

Other verbs may also govern inf. directly, but then usually in elliptical sentences ('accusative with infinitive'):

(69)   ON *Hon bað hann varast* 'She asked him to take care', i.e. 'She asked him that he take care'.

When such constructions are expanded, they require a marker of the inf., either *at* or *til at*:

(70)   ON *Biðr þórolfr orlofs at fara norðr* 'Thorolf asks permission to leave (for the) north' (*ES* ch. 9).
(71)   ON *Báðu þeir Pilatum til at banna honum* 'They asked Pilate to condemn him' (*Post* 218).

The use of the inf. marker varies in Sc. As it is often (and in Nw always) pronounced *å*, it is confused with *og/och*. The forms are: Ic *að*, NN BN *å*, Sw *att*, Da Fa *at*.

OIc prose observes a sequence of tenses that requires modals to form a pret. inf. in such sentences as:

(72)   ON *Skírnir lézt ganga mundu* 'Skirnir said-himself to-go to-would', i.e. 'S. said that he would go' (*SnE Gylf* ch. 37).

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The pret. inf. is usually identical with the 3p. pl. pret. of the verbs that have it, just as the pres. inf. usually is identical with the 3p. pl. pres. In ON the pret. inf. is not limited to the modals; in Ic only two somewhat archaic forms are known (*mundu, skyldu*). Other Old Sc languages do not have it.

6.7.2 *Present participle.* This form (5.2.2e, 5.3.2e) is common to all Scand. lang. and is always adjectival (or adverbial), as in *farandi konur* 'traveling women, beggars' (Heusler 1932, 135). Its occurrence as part of a VP is a mark of 'learned', i.e. foreign-influenced style. Intrans. verbs have active pres. part.:

(73) ON *Faðir minn var lifandi* 'My father was living', i.e. alive (*Kgs* ch. 1).
(74) ON *Grátandi Bǫðvildr gékk ór eyju* 'Weeping, Bodvild left the island (*Vkv* 29).

After *vera* 'be' trans. verbs may have passive meaning:

(75) ON *þat er þolanda* 'That is bearable', i.e. to be borne.
(76) NN *Det er ikkje ventande* 'It is not to be expected' (for Sw *Det är inte att vänta*).

Many pres. part. have been substantivized: *bóndi* 'farmer' (from *búa* 'dwell'), *frændi* 'kinsman' (PSc *frijōn* 'love'; cf. Eng *friend*, Ger *Freund*), *fjandi* 'enemy' (PSc *fijēn* 'hate'; cf. Eng. *fiend*, Ger *Feind*).

6.7.3 *Perfect participle.* This form (5.2.3c, 5.3.3c, 5.3.4b) represents an action as completed, either as a pure adj. or as the non-finite part of a verb phrase. An example of adj. use is: ODa *folginn liggr* 'hidden (he) lies' (*DR* 411). Mostly it occurs with auxiliaries in the perfect (6.4.2) or the passive (6.6.2). In the resultative sense (with 'be'), intransitive verbs are active (*hon er farin* 'she is gone'), while transitives are passive (*hann er barinn* 'he is beaten').

In Ic, *geta* 'be able, get' and *fá* 'get' are also construed with the perf. part.:

(77) ON *þú getr eigi sótt tvá menn við tvennar tylftir manna* 'You can't overcome (p.p.) two men with two dozen men' (*Flat* I 129, 8).

Elsewhere *fá* has survived with this sense: BN *Jeg får ingenting gjort* 'I don't get anything done'. Sw distinguishes a supine in -*it* from the n. of the perf. part. in -*et*: *någon har stulit barnet* 'someone has stolen the child' – *det är et stulet barn* 'that is a stolen child'.

The supine ends in invariable *-t,* while the perf. part. (i.e. the adjective) is declined like other adj,

6.8 Modification

The heteregeneous class of adverbs functions as modifiers of verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and even occasionally nouns. Most of the simple adverbs are uninflected particles; some are derived from adjectives in the n. sg. form (*-t;* cf. 4.2.4, 4.3.4) and are compared like these. Complex adverbials are mostly prepositional phrases or specially inflected noun phrases. We shall divide them into *sentence* adverbs (6.8.1), that modify the finite verb; and *content* adverbs (6.8.2), that also modify other elements in the sentence. The former have their place either before or after the finite verb, the latter closer to the end of the sentence, or next to whichever word they modify, or initially.

6.8.1 *Sentence adverbs.* We shall distinguish three chief types: (a) negatives, (b) question particles, and (c) modals.

(a) *Negatives.* This is of course not just a problem relating to adverbs; it relates also to pronouns and, via the negative prefix, to all parts of speech. But since most negatives in Scand can be traced back to the IE negative adverb **nĕ,* this is as good a place as any to present negation. From this word comes the Gmc neg. adv. **ne* and the prefix **un-* (> ON *ó-* by rules C5 and 9 above, 3.2 and 2.4.3). **Ne* appears as *ni* in two early runic inscriptions, as *ne* in the poetry of the Viking Period:

(78)   *Ni wāje māriz* '(Let) not yield (the) famous (sword?)', i.e. 'Let not the famous (sword) yield'. (Thorsberg sword, c. 200 A.D.)
(79)   *Ni s solu sot uk ni sakse stainn skorin* 'Not is by-the-sun touched and not by-sword (the) stone cut' (Eggjum stone, c. 700 A.D.)
(80)   ON *Sól þat né vissi hvar hon sali átti* '(The) sun that not knew where she (her) halls had' (*Vsp* 5)

Reflecting the O-V ordering of older Sc (M-H), the *ni/ne* precedes the V immediately in each case. It probably disappeared in speech by the Viking period, leaving behind its *n-* in the interj. *nei* 'no', the conj. *né* 'nor', the pronouns *neinn (ne + einn)* and *nokkurr* (from **ne wait ek hwariz* 'not know I which'), both meaning 'any', and the conj. *nema* 'unless, if not'. Elsewhere it disappeared after giving a negative sense to pronouns or adverbs bearing the suffix *-gi/-ki* (cf. the French *ne... pas,* now often simply *pas* 'not').

The adverbs (in their ON form) were: *ævagi* 'never', *eigi* 'not', *aldrigi* 'never', *hvargi* 'nowhere', and *þeygi* 'not at all'. The pronouns (4.3.3) were *engi* 'no one' (from **ein-gi*), *ekki* 'nothing' (from **eitt-gi > *eitt-ki*), *hvárgi* 'neither', *hvartki* 'neither' (n.), *manngi* 'no one', *vætki* 'nothing'. The *-gi* meant something like 'any', but with the loss of *ne*, it got the effect of 'none'. In the poetry of the Viking Age, especially the *Edda*, another suffix, *-at/-a* is used with verbs (*berrat* 'bears not', *kemra* 'comes not), its negation no doubt due to a lost *ne* also. But this suffix did not survive. Instead, the neg. adverbs of Scand are all descended from the forms containing *-gi/-ki*. The loss of preverbal *ne* may have been part of the PSc loss of prefixes (7.4.2) (Haugen, forthcoming).

In CSc/OSc the chief neg. adv. was *eigi*, surviving into MSc as *ei/ej*. It was already then in competition with *ekki*, which came into adverbial use and eventually became Da BN *ikke*, NN *ikkje*, Sw *icke* 'not'. In modern times a widespread alternate form with *-n-* (from **ingte*) has become the regular Sw form: *inte* (cf. also the NN alternate, *inkje*). For time expressions *aldri(g)* 'never' is universal. Da *hverken*/BN *verken*/Sw *varken*/NN *korkje* 'neither' is a conj., while *ingen* (NN *inga* f.) *intet* (NN *inkje*) is general for 'no one, nothing'.

The change from *ne* to *eigi/ekki* reflects also a change from O-V to V-O (H-M), since now all the neg. adv.s follow the V instead of preceding it. However, as we shall see: in embedded clauses they may precede it.

(b) *Question particles.* In ON questions could be introduced by *hvárt* 'whether', often with deletion of the alternative:

(81)   *Hvárt viltu austr til Hísingar?* 'Do you wish (to go) east to H.?' The
        negative ('or not?') is implied.

Mostly such questions (yes-no) are marked merely by shifting the S to the post-V position, *Viltu* (for *þú vilt*). The only question adverb that does not begin with *hv-* (Eng *wh-*, OE *hw-*) is 'when': Da Nw *når*, Sw *när;* the reason is that these are short for older *hvenær/hvenār*, found in OSc (Ic still has *hvenær* and Da *hvornår*), related to Eng *when* (OE *hwonne ær* 'how soon'). Others are: *hvar* 'where', *hvert* 'whither', *hvaðan* 'whence'; *hvé* 'how'; and the cpds. *hvernig (hvern veg)* 'whither', *hversu (hvers vegar)* 'how', *hvílíkr* 'which one'. The pronouns are *hvar/hver* 'who' (with full declension) and *hvárr* 'which of two'.

These have descended to ModSc as: *hvor/var* 'where'; Sw *vart*/NN *kvart* (Da BN *hvorhen*) 'whither'; Sw *vadan*/NN *kvadan* (Da BN *hvorfra*) (the longer forms also in Sw and NN) 'whence'. The pronouns are *hvilken/vilken* 'which';

(formerly dat. acc.) *hvem/vem/kven* and (nom.-acc.) *hvad/hva/vad/kva* 'who, what'.

The question particles, whether adv. or pron., introduce questions, in which the order is V-S; when the same question is indirect, i.e. embedded, the order is S-V.

(82) NN *Kvar bur doktoren?* 'Where does the doctor live?'

(83) NN *Eg veit ikkje kvar doktoren bur.* 'I don't know where the doctor lives'.

(c) *Modals.* There are many modals that are regular adverbs of the type 'obviously', 'undoubtedly', 'hardly', but we are here concerned only with a small group that are monosyllabic and have a privileged position in close contact with the V. All of them have a different meaning when stressed, e.g. *da/då* 'then'; as a conjunction 'when'. Unstressed *da/då* expresses the speaker's conviction that his statement is true:

(84) Sw *Jag kommer då i kväll* 'I'm coming this evening' (of course, certainly, I'm sure).

The modals are: Da *da, dog, jo, nok, nu, vel;* Sw *då, dock, ju, nog, väl;* BN *da, jo, nok, nå, vel;* NN *då (da), nog (nok), no (nå), vel.* In Ic only *þó* occurs, and apparently none of them are found in OSc. This fact suggests that the practice is borrowed from LG, as is the Da/Sw *dog/dock,* replacing CSc *þō.* As an adversative, this has the general meaning of 'nevertheless, after all (i.e., in spite of some previous statement); in daily speech its modal role has been taken over by *da/då,* with a general sense of 'assurance', and in questions of 'surprise' (speaker having been assured and now expressing surprise). Da/BN/Sw *jo/ju* expresses 'conviction', with the presupposition that the hearer will agree ('you know; of course'):

(85) Sw *Det är ju min tur* 'It's my turn, you know'.

Da/Sw/Nw *nok/nog* expresses 'inference', without appeal to the listener:

(86) Sw *Han är nog sjuk* 'He must be ill'.

Da/BN/NN *nu/nå* assumes the truth of a statement, in spite of doubts:

(87) NN *Det er no alltid ein vågnad* 'It is always a risk, you know'.

Da/Sw/BN/NN *vel/väl* questions the truth of a proposition and asks for confirmation:

(88)   BN *Det går vel over så småningom* 'It'll pass gradually, I suppose' (or 'won't it?').

These adv. all occupy the position immediately after the V, followed by a negative (add *ikke/inte/ikkje* in the above sentences). In an embedded clause the order is the same but preceding the V:

(86)   Sw *Jag vet att han nog inte är sjuk* 'I know that he is certainly not ill'.

Any one of the above sentences will have a slightly different communicative value according to which of the modal adverbs is used. Translators are warned (e.g. by dictionaries) that they are "untranslatable"; in fact, it is merely that exact translations are often clumsy. In another language similar meanings may be conveyed by intonation or gestures.

6.8.2 *Content adverbs.* These have as their principal functions to mark the *place, time, direction,* or *quality* of an action. The most frequent in CSc of the uncompounded adv. are: (a) place – *hér* 'here', *þar* 'there', *hwar* 'where'; (b) time – *nú* 'now', *þá* 'then', *nǽr/nár* 'when' (above 6.5.7b); (c) direction – *upp* 'up', *niðr* 'down'; *út* 'out', *inn* 'in', *fram* 'forward' – *aptr* 'backward'; *brott* 'away' – *heim* 'homeward' (i.e. in the direction of an older settlement); (d) quality – *vel* 'well', *illa* 'badly' etc. These have all descended into the modern languages. Their position in the sentence is varied, usually after the core S-V or S-V-O unless they are fronted for emphasis (topicalized). The adv. of direction may form compound (extended) verbs, which then precede objects, but follow modals and negatives, e.g. BN *slå opp* 'put up, post':

(89)   BN *Jeg slo da ikke opp denne plakaten* 'I put certainly not up this placard', i.e. 'I certainly did not put up t. p.'

(a) *Prepositional phrases.* Prep.s resemble verbs in governing objects which modify their meaning; with few exceptions they precede their objects as expected in a V-O (H-M) language. This transitivity makes it possible to define prepositions as transitive adverbs, since they can also function as adv. Phrases consisting of prep. and obj. function as adverbial modifiers.

The cases governed by OSc prepositions are as follows (cf. 6.3); we take the older, primary ones first. There is some vacillation, esp. in column 3; *án* 'without' may govern all three cases:

Table 52. Cases Governed by OSc Prepositions

(1) Dative		(2) Dat. (place)/Acc. (motion)			(3) Dat./Acc.	
af 'of, from'	*frá* 'from'	*á* 'on'	*fyrir* 'for'	*yfir* 'over'	*eptir* 'after'	*um* 'around'
at 'at, by'	*ór* 'from'	*í* 'in'	*undir* 'under'		*með* 'with'	*við(r)* 'against'

In CSc a number of secondary prepositions were developed, some of them from prep. phrases or from nouns with the gen.:

(1) Genitive	(2) Dative	(3) Accusative
í millom 'between'	*á bak* 'behind'	*fyrir norðan* (etc.) 'north of'
innan 'inside'	*á hendr* 'against'	*fyr(ir) utan* 'without'
til 'to' (Gmc *tila* 'goal')	*í mót* 'toward'	*í gegnum* 'through'
utan 'outside'	*í hjá* WSc, *hōs* ESc 'with, at the the house of'	*um fram* 'besides'
vegna 'on account of'	*til handa* 'for the benefit of'	*í kring um* 'around'
fyrir... sakar 'for the sake of'	*nærr* 'near'	*í bland við* 'among'

Some of the secondary preps. could follow their nouns: *mǫnnum til handa* 'for the benefit of men'. All the primary and most of the secondary preps. have survived, with phonetic syntactic, and semantic changes. Some striking changes are: *utan* > BN *utenfor*, *vegna* > *på vegne av*, *fyrir...sakar* > *for (min) skyld*, *fyrir norðan* > *nordenfor*, *fyrir utan* > *utenfor* 'outside', *uten* 'without'. With the loss of case distinctions, all now take a general object case (in the pronouns), but *til* shows its old gen. case in fossilized phrases: BN *til lands* 'on land', *til bords* 'at table, Sw *till handa* 'in aid of', *till salu* 'for sale'; *i* and *på* similarly can show old dat.: Sw *i handom* 'in one's hands', Da *på fode* 'on one's feet'.

(b) *Adverbial noun phrases.* Nouns in various cases may function adverbially:

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(1)   Genitive. *annars staðar* 'elsewhere', *annars vegar* 'on the other hand', *framleiðis* 'still', *loksins* 'finally', *minnar handar* 'on my behalf'. Gen. also specifies adj. and num.: *þriggja famna breiðr* 'three fathoms broad', *fimtán vetra* 'fifteen winters', OSw *hann var mildr matar auk malsrisinn* 'he was liberal with food and wellspoken' (U 739).

(2)   Dative: *einu sinni* 'one time, once', *lǫngu* 'long ago', *nokkrum stað* 'somewhere', *stundum* 'sometimes', *þurrum fótum* 'dryshod'. Dat. also specifies adj., especially comp.: *hálfu verri* 'twice as bad' (lit. 'worse by half', where *hálfu* may be a noun), *mikill vexti* 'large of growth', *níu nóttum lengri* 'nine nights more'.

(3)   Accusative: *þeir gengu sex rastir* 'they walked six miles'; *jarl fór dag ok nótt* 'the earl traveled day and night'; *þá var mjǫk annan veg* 'then (things) were very different (another way)'.

A number of these have survived as lexicalized phrases: BN *annensteds*/NN *annanstad*, NN *framleis*, Sw *någonstans*/Da *nogensteds*, BN NN Sw *stundom*, BN NN *tørrskodd*/Da *tørskoet*/Sw *torrskodd*. But (aside from Ic and Fa) the case-marked forms have become unmarked: BN *tre favner bred*, *femten vintrer* etc. The order remains the same, but the measures that were the heads (H) have now become modifiers (M).

6.9   The Noun Phrase

An NP (6.0) usually has a noun (explicit or implied) as its kernel, but (as the term is used currently) its function may also be filled by a whole clause (see 6.10). As here used, we shall limit it to nominals. The noun may be replaced by a pronoun (6.9.1). It may be modified by adjectives (6.9.2) and articles (6.9.3) or other determiners (e.g. numerals).

In CSc modifiers tended to follow the N, but are now fixed so that some are before, others after it, depending on the language.

6.9.1 *Pronouns.* These may function either as substitutes for the noun or noun phrase (anaphorically) or as modifiers (adjectivally). In either case they must agree in gender, number, and case with their referent (for the

forms see 4.2.2, 4.4.2, 4.3.2, 4.11). Gender does not apply to the 1p. and 2p. personal pron., but is in full use down to the present in most of the rest.
In the runic sources one can still find alternations between *es* (cf. Lat *is* 'he', Ger *er* 'he'), *sā(r)*, the old dem. pron., and *hann (hon)* 'he (she)', the new pers. pron.:

(90)   OSw *Sa fell austr* 'He fell in (the) east' (Ög 8).
(91)   OSw *Hann fell austr* '(the same)' (U 644).
(92)   OSw *Es was austr...drepinn* 'He was (in the east) killed' (U 654).

These were gradually specialized, *es* as an uninflected relative particle (later *er*). *Sā* (f. *sū*) became a dem. pronoun; this was replaced (except in Ic) by *þann* 'that' (n. sg. *þat*, pl. m. *þeir*, f. *þar/þær*, n. *þau*), and as an anaphoric pron. by *hann*, f. *hon* etc. In the n. *þat* became both a pers. and a dem. pron., and has so remained (> *det*). Already in Gmc a new, complex dem. pron. arose to point out nearer objects, using the suffix IE *-se: sa-si, *þann-si* (> *þessi/þenna* etc.). This has descended into all the languages as *denne/denna* m.f., *dette/detta* n., *disse/dessa* pl. 'this, these'. ON also had *sjá* 'this', but Ic now prefers *þessi.*

(a) The n. forms were and are important in referring to whole situations and to sentences:

(93)   OSw *Drepr maðr mann i kirkiu, þat er niðingsverk* '(If) a man kills a man in church, that is (a) dastard's deed.' (*Vgl* I)
(94)   OSw *þæt ær niþingsværk at bæræ sculd iuir þangbreccu* 'It is a traitor's deed to bear shields (i.e. arms) across the border' (*VgL* 23.8).

In younger OSc the n. sg. *þat/thet* began appearing as the previously unexpressed subject of impersonal verbs:

(95)   As presentation: OSw *Thet war en man, ther hafdhe et ilt sār* 'There was a man, who had a bad wound'. (*KS*).
(96)   In a cleft sentence: OSw *Nu är þät landboe, sum hemsōkn gärs til* 'Now it is (a) farmer, whom (an) attack is made on' (*ÖgL*).
(97)   Subject of imp. verb: OSw *Thet rängde alla nat* 'It rained all night' (*SVM*).

(b) The use of the n. pl. to refer to persons of both sexes is shared with Gothic and OHG:

(98)   ON *þau Ingiþōra* 'they (n. pl.) Ingithora', i.e. 'I. and her husband'.

(c) The pers. pron. was not usually adjectival, but could appear in apposition:

(99)   OSw *Gyriò ok Guòlaug þaR lētu rēsa stēn þenna* 'Gyrid and Gudlaug, they (fem. pl.) caused to be raised this stone'. (U 328).

(d) The reflexive pron. retained its IE and Gmc limitation of anaphora within the clause (cf. Lat. *suus* vs. *eius*, Go *seina* vs. *is, izōs*). German *sein*, like OE *his*, was generalized, but in NGmc *sīn* must refer to the subject, *hans* to a noun in the predicate:

(100)   OSw *Estriò lēt brō gera eftir Ingwar bōnda sinn ok at Ragnwald son hans* 'Estrid caused a bridge to be made after Ingwar, *her* husband and after Ragnwald, *his* son' (U 310).

Sinn is here m. acc. sg. to agree with *bōnda,* the 'thing' possessed; it does not mark the gender or number of the possessor (here the f. sg. *Estriò*). This rule is still valid except that in Da *sin* can no longer refer back to a pl. subject, leaving *deres* 'their' as the only form:

(101)   Da *De læste deres bøger* 'They read their books' is ambiguous as in Eng, while Nw and Sw distinguish: BN *De leste bøkene sine* (their own) vs. *deres* (someone else's).

(e) After the interrog., a gen. or dat. specification was used in OSc, but has been replaced by a prep. phrase or other expression today:

(102)   ON *Hvat er þat fiska?* 'What of fishes is that?', i.e. 'What kind of a fish is that?' (*Rm.* 1). Modern BN: *Hva for en fisk er det?/Hva slags...*

(f) *Sjálfr* 'self' is an intensivizing pron.:

(103)   OSw *Reisþi sialfR faþiR at sun dauþan* '(The) father himself raised (the stone) for (his) dead son' (Sö 122).

Modern Sw *själv,* like Da BN *selv*/NN *sjøl(v)* can occur at various points in the sentence after the noun it modifies: *Faderen själv/faderen reste själv stenen/faderen reste stenen själv.* Before the noun it has to be weak in form: *själva/selve,* unless it means 'even' : *själv faderen.*

(g) Other developments are the reduction of all pronominal cases to two, with some even being reduced to one (4.4.2): *han* 'he, him' in NN and radical

BN for *han* – *honom/ham;* Sw popular *dom* in speech for written *de* – *dem* 'they, them'. etc. The polite (formal) pron. in OSc was the 2p. pl. (copying Lat *vos* 'you'), continued in Sw as *ni,* in Da as *I,* NN as *dykk.* (pop. BN as *dere*). In Da and BN this was replaced in the 18th century by *De (Dem, Deres),* copying Ger *Sie.* Today the democratic leveling is reflected in increasing use of the traditional folk and familiar form *du,* esp. in Sweden, but also in Norway as well as in Denmark.

(h) Scand. has no vernacular forms for a rel. pron. proper (*hvilken* as rel. pron. is obsolete), but has always managed with rel. particles: *es/er* in CSc, replaced in OSc by *sum/sem* 'as', from which the modern *som* of the mainland languages (Ic *sem,* Fa *sum*), in Da varying with *der.* None of these can be governed by preceding prepositions; the prep. is always final:

(104) BN *Hunden som vi så på* 'The dog that we looked at (**på som vi så* 'at which we looked').

(i) The *det* of impersonal and cleft sentences is regular, but Da distinguishes (like Eng) between *det* 'it' and *der* 'there':

(105) Da *Der er mange fugler i år* 'There are many birds this year' (Sw BN NN *Det är/er...*).

6.9.2 *Adjectives.* An adj. agrees in gender, case, and number with the noun or pronoun it modifies. If the modifier is a sentence, the adj. is neut. sg.; if the nouns are m. and f., the n. pl. is used (above, sentence 98):

(106) OSw *þau druknaþu baþi* 'they (n. pl.) both (n. pl.) drowned' (U 455).

Adj. can be modified by adverbials (6.8.2a):

(107) OSw [*Hann*] *was und hifni bestr* 'He was (the) best under (the) heavens' (Sö 136). The M-H order here is now generally replaced by H-M: Sw *bäst under himmelen.* The same shift is typical of comparatives: M-H > H-M when *hverjum manni meiri* 'greater than every man' became *meiri en aðrir menn* with a shift from dat. to 'than'.

Most adj. can have either a strong or a weak form (4.2.3, 4.3.3). Exceptions are (a) some quantiative and pronominal adj. that have only strong: *far* 'few', *halfr* 'half', *miðr* 'mid', *allr* 'all', *annarr* 'another', *baðir* 'both'; *sialfr* 'self', *slikr* 'such'; and (b) some that have only weak: comparatives, pres. part.,

ordinal numerals, and *sami* 'the same'. *Halfr* and *sjalfr* have developed weak forms today: *halve/halva* '(the) half' (or 'half the'), *selve/själva* 'the ... (him) self'; likewise *annarr:* (den) *andre/andra* '(the) other, second'.

The strong forms usually function with indef. nouns, the weak with def. nouns: *fagr steinn* '(a) handsome rock' vs. *hinn fagri steinn(inn)* 'the handsome rock' (on the article see below, 6.9.3). Some weak adj. appear without preceding determiner: *fyrri* '(the) former', *vinstri* '(the) left', *næsti* '(the) next', *þriðji* '(the) third' etc.

Both strong and weak forms can be substantivized: wk. m. for men (*inn góði* 'the good man'), f. for women (*in góða* 'the good woman'), n. for abstract concepts (*it góða* 'the good', *gott* 'good'), pl. for people (*margir* 'many').

In address both can be used as a vocative: *vesall maðr* 'poor man', *kæri vinr* 'dear friend'. Today the latter is the normal structure: Sw *kära vänn*/BN NN *kjære venn*/Da *kære ven.*

Contrary to Ger, an adj. must also agree in the predicate:

(108) ON *Hús er lítit, en menn eru margir* '(The) house is small (n.), but (the) people are many (pl.).

6.9.3 *Articles.* The *definite* article is derived from demonstrative pronouns, the *indefinite* from the numeral *one*, both with weak stress. Neither one existed as such in Gmc. The def. art. developed in CSc, the indef. in MSc, both no doubt in response to cultural currents from more southerly European languages (Beckman 1934, Sommerfelt 1933).

(a) The *def. art.* (4.3.2) began as a reinforcement of the weak adj. which already had a def. function: *Hákon góði* 'Hákon (the) good', *ungi maðr* '(the) young man' > *Hákon hinn góði, hinn ungi maðr.* Such forms appear in CSc runic inscriptions: *þjaurīkR hinn þurmōði* 'Thjodrek the courageous' (Rök, c. 700), *rūnar þār reginkundu* 'runes the divinely descended' (Sparlösa, c. 800). Each daughter language developed these constructions a little differently: in WSc mss. it is common to find such phrases as *sá hinn góði maðr,* in ESc *þann gōði maðr* 'the good man'.

The *enclitic* def. art. must have developed in speech at least by the Viking Age, but is not found in the inscr. before c. 1100. The fact that adj. developed a preceding def. art., the nouns a following and, eventually, enclitic one made it possible to combine the two: *þann ungi maðrinn, maðrinn hinn ungi.* These clearly redundant forms became popular in OSw and ONw, less so in OIc and not at all in ODa. The so-called "double definite" or "overdefinite" (Lundeby 1965) article is characteristic of Sw and in modern times of

BN (it was accepted by NN from the start as being universal in Nw dialects). It is strictly banned in Da (and in older BN). Sw reduces redundancy in proper names and set phrases by dropping the article of the adjective: *brända tomten* '(the) burned site' (BN *den brente tomten*), *Gamla Stan* '(the) Old Town' in Stockholm (cf. Nw *Gamlebyen*) vs. *den gamla staden/den gamle byen* 'the old town'. In Ic this is actually the most common construction: *rauði hesturinn* '(the) red horse'; when the preposed article is used, the suffixed one is not: *hið fullkomna líf* 'the perfect life', *máttlausir af hinu mikla kaffi* 'enfeebled by so much coffee' (Laxness).

(b) The *indef. art.* does not appear in the earliest OSc mss., but is attested from c. 1300. It is not always easy to be sure whether an example like *en sädhisman* in OSw (1340) means 'a certain sower' or just 'a sower', not hitherto mentioned. The article never got to Iceland at all, and elsewhere it is more restricted in its use than in Eng, e.g. in naming a person's nationality, title, or profession: BN *Hun er lege* 'She is (a) physician'; *han er amerikaner* 'He is (an) American'.

6.10   Complex and Compound Sentences

Sentences can be joined into complex and compound sentences, usually with the help of *conjunctions* to mark their relation to the main clause (6.9.1h). They can also remain as sentence *fragments* or be shortened by *ellipsis* (6.11), now also known as *deletion*.

When sentences occur as parts of larger sentences, they are usually called *clauses*. Clauses may be combined without explicit markers, but when there are markers, they are called *conjunctions* (which may include relative particles and pronouns).

6.10.1   *Conjunctions.* These are either *coordinating* or *subordinating*, according to whether they signal a *paratactic* or a *hypotactic* relation between the clauses.

(a) *Coordinating:* the most important CSc conj. were *ok* and *en*, both translatable as 'and', but *en* is sometimes best rendered 'but'. *Ok* is from PSc **auka* (cf. **aukan* v. 'increase', as is Ger *auch,* Eng *eke* 'also') and is somerimes written *auk*. It survives in all Sc as *og*/Sw *och*. *En* is from PSc **anþi* (cf. Eng *and,* Ger *und*). *En* has been replaced in the mainland langs. by *men* 'but', which may be from OSc *meðan,* but is more likely a loan from MLG *men.* Other paratactic conj. are *eða* 'or', *né* 'nor', *en* 'than'. *Eða* is Gmc, possibly related to Lat *et;* while it survives in Ic, it has elsewhere been

replaced by *elliga/elligar/eller* 'otherwise' > *eller* (cf. Lat *alius* 'other'). *Né* (cf. Go *nih*, Lat *neque*) has also been replaced by *eller*, with a preceding *hverken/verken/varken/korkje* (see 6.8.1a on negatives) 'neither' to make it negative. *En* is from *þan* in PSc (Gmc **þana*, cf. Eng *than*) and has remained the marker of comparison: *end/enn/än.*

These not only join clauses together, but also individual words and phrases. In the latter case one can mostly regard them as elliptical sentences, cf Eng *He came and saw and conquered* (where *he* is deleted before the last two verbs) (6.11).

(b) *Subordinating:* the most important CSc conj. were *at* 'that', *es/er* 'who, which, that', *sem* 'who, which, that', *ef* 'if', *með(an)* 'while'. *At* is Gmc (Go *þatei*, OE *þæt*, cf. Eng *that*, Ger *dass*) with loss of *th-* (like *en* 'than'). The inf. marker *at* is the same word (for which other Gmc languages use *to/zu*). The rel. particles are pronominal (Go *is/izei*, PSc *sam-* 'same'). *Ef* (OE *gif* Eng *if*) is related to the word for 'doubt' *efa; meðan* to Go *miþþanei*, OE *miþþan* from *mið* 'with'. *Ef* has been replaced by *hvis* (from MLG *wes*) in Da BN and by *om* in all the languages (from older *um/æm*, a semantic variant of *ef*). *Meðan* is now *medens/mens* in Da BN, *medan/med* NN, *medan* Sw.

6.10.2 *Subordinate* (embedded) clauses function as (a) *noun phrases*, as subjects, objects, or predicate words, (b) as *adjectival (attributive) phrases* modifying a noun, usually known as relative clauses; (c) as *adverbial phrases* modifying the verb for time, place, manner, goal, comparison, etc.

(a) *Nominal clauses* are introduced by *at* 'that', *ef* 'if' (ESc *of, um, num:* WSc also *hvárt*), by an interrogative pronoun or adverb (indirect question) (see 4.4.3, 6.9.1e):

(109) ON *þat býð ek at þú far* 'This I command that you leave'.
(110) ON *þá spyrr Frigg, ef sú kona vissi* 'Then Frigg asks, whether this woman knew...' *(SnE* 49).
(111) ON *Konungr spyrr Auðun, hverr útlendr hann væri* '(The) king asks Audun what foreigner he might be' *(Flat* 3.412).

(b) *Adjectival clauses* are attached to a preceding noun or pronoun by a relative particle, in ON *es/er* (above):

(112) OSw *DiarfR ok Orǿkja...letu resa sten þenna æftiʀ Sven, broður sinn, sā eR varð dǿþr ā Iotlandi* 'D. and O. caused to be erected this stone after Svæin, their brother, he who was killed in Jylland' (U 539).

(113) OSw *Unna lēt reisa þinsa stein aftR sun sin Esten sum dō i hwīta wāþum* 'Unna caused to be erected this stone after her son Esten who died in white (baptismal) habit' (U 613).

(c) *Adverbial clauses* are introduced by *at* (also *er, þar*), following adverbs like *swā* 'so', *þō* 'although', *sīðan* 'since', *þegar* 'when', *til þess* 'until', *slīkt* 'such', *þvī* 'therefore' etc. Of these only *sǻ (at), siden, til (at), slik (at), fordi (at)* have survived, while others have arisen from compounding, such as *idet* 'as', *fφrenn* 'before', *sǻsom* 'as'. Prepositions can introduce clauses directly, sometimes by the omission of intervening links, e.g. *til þess er* 'until' > *til:*

(114) ON *Skulu þeir til þings fara, til þeir mφta þing-mφnnum.* 'They shall proceed to the *thing* until they meet the *thing* men' (*Gul* 131).
(115) ON *... þar til at hann kom fyrir φndvegit* 'until he came before the high seat' (*Víg* ch. 6).
(116) ON *Svá lauk, at Haraldr konungr fekk sigr* '(It) so ended that king Harald won the victory' (*ES* ch. 9).
(117) ON *Nú var af liðinn annarr dagr síðan er hann fór heiman* 'Now was passed (the) second day since he left home' (*Heilag* 2.187).

6.10.3 Embedded clauses are also marked by (a) subjunctive mode (when appropriate) and (b) special word order.

(a) *Subjunctive.* As in other Gmc languages, the subj. is used when the main verb expresses a wish, an order, a hope, supposition, quotation, in general anything presented not as a fact but as a hypothesis.

(118) ODa *At retta sa wærði es stein þansi elti eða aft annan dragi* 'May he become (subj.) a pervert who should move (subj.) this stone or remove (subj.) (it) for anyone else' (*DR* 209).
(119) OSw (Gutnish) *Guþ hielpin sial Rōþfōsa! Guþ suiki þā aR hann sycu!* 'God help (the) soul of Rodfos! God punish those who failed him!' (Sjonhem I, c. 1100; Noreen 1904, 495).

Even the oldest OSc mss. show that the modal auxiliaries (6.5.1) were competing with the subj. mood and would eventually make it superfluous, except to the limited degree to which it still exists.

The *sequence of tenses* demanded that the tense of the embedded clause should be the same as that in the main clause when they were simultaneous, but there was much violation of the rule. An example of correct usage:

(120)   ON *Hon spurði hvaðan hann væri* 'She asked where he was (subj.)
from' (Heusler 1932, 130).

(b) *Word order.* The examples above (109–19) show that the normal order
of major components is the same in subordinate as in major clauses: S-V-O
e.g. (116) ...*at konungr fékk sigr.* The exception is (118), with two cases
of S-O-V: *es stein þansi elti eða aft annan dragi.* Such cases are not uncom-
mon, esp. if the clauses are short. But they did not, as in Ger, become the
rule. In this example they suggest poetic style, the inscription being a curse,
and this is often the case in ModSc also. In general the S-V-O order is more
rigid in embedded clauses, since there are fewer opportunities for shifting
elements of the predicate into initial position. The only striking difference
is that modal and neg. adv. (6.8.1) normally come between S and V in the
mainland languages. If we introduce the examples (85–88) with *om* 'if',
the modal adverbs (and added negatives) will change position, as in example
(85):

(85') *Om det ju inte är min tur...* 'If (to be sure) it is not my turn...'

The 'if' can be dropped, and the clause will still be conditional if the V_f is
shifted to initial position:

(85") *Är det inte min tur, då kan jag vänta* 'If it is not my turn, then I can
wait'.

There is no evidence of the modal rule in OScand, but inversion can be
exemplified:

(120)   OIc *Vilið ér gefa mér fylli mína af oxanum, þá mun soðna á seyðinum*
'(If) you will give me my share of the ox, then it will cook in the fire'
(Heusler 1932, 165).

6.11   Ellipsis

Sentences with several parallel phrases are often combined into one
compound sentence, in which the identical elements are deleted. This
deletion (traditionally known as ellipsis) results in a 'gapping' which is auto-
matically filled in by the listener. In this example the deleted parts are
supplied in brackets:

(121) ON *Magnús konungr lét gera skrín og* [*Magnús konungr lét*] *búa* [*skrínit*] *gulli ok* [*Magnús konungr lét búa skrínit*] *silfri ok* [*Magnús konungr lét*] *setja* [*skrínit*] *steinum* 'King Magnus caused a shrine to be made and adorned with gold and silver and set with stones' (*Hkr* 3.20).

Deletion was often more extensive even than in modern languages, especially in the lapidary style of the inscriptions:

(122) ODa [*Gi*]*nna let leggia sten pensi auk Toki* 'Ginna caused this stone to be laid down, and [so did] Toki'. (*DR* 412).

These examples of *láta* 'cause to' are similar to those discussed above in connection with the inf. (68–69, 6.7.1). Transformation of embedded clauses into infinitives is especially common after verbs of causation, volition, expectation, and speaking. These are still available in Sc, except that it is no longer possible to use the mediopassive of *segja* 'say' as the subject of an infinitive:

(123) ON *(þeir) sǫgðusk kenna (landit)* 'They said-themselves to know the country', i.e. 'they said they knew the country'.
(124) OSw *Segir maðr sik a torgi hafa keypt...* '(If a) man says himself at the market to have bought...', i.e. 'If a man says that he bought ... at the market...'

Both sentences would today require an *at(t)*-clause. The use of -*s* (Da *sagdes/* Sw *sades*) in (123) would mean 'they were said to know the country'.

In some constructions there is less ellipsis now than formerly, e.g. pronominal subjects and objects must now be expressed. Instead, certain auxiliaries are optionally deleted:

(1) In Sw *ha(de)* in subord. clauses:

(125) *Jag tror inte hon* [*har*] *blivit blind* 'I don't think she has become blind' (primarily used in writing rather than speech).

(2) In BN *ha* between a pret. modal and a perf. part.:

(126) *Du skulle* [*ha*] *sett det* 'You should have seen it'. Very common in speech and writing.

6.12 Summary

The main syntactic structures of older as well as modern Sc languages have been presented here. Among the innovations that distinguish Sc from nearby languages are: the suffixed def. art. and its alternation with the preposed art. (6.9.3), the uses of the perfect (6.4.2), the mediopassive suffix (6.6.3) and the word order in main and embedded clauses (6.10.3b). There are specialties of individual languages, e.g. the double definite of Sw and Nw. In general the mainland languages here, as in the phonology and morphology, stand together against the insular languages, Fa and Ic. Some of the innovations of the latter were listed in 6.4.3; in general, one can assume that if nothing is said, these languages have retained the system here presented for OSc. Over all, Sc syntax shows a marked decrease in morphological marking in favor of word order marking. There is abundant flexibility for well-defined purposes, such as topicalizing, but word order has long since taken over most of the functions once performed by the inflections.

Typologically Sc is therefore a predominantly V-O (i.e. H-M-ordering) language, excepting for adjectives before nouns; even here the H-M rule applies in Ic and Nw to possessives (*faðir minn/far min* 'my father').

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The cited illustrations are, with some exceptions, taken from standard reference works. The older runic inscriptions are from Krause and Jankuhn (1966) and Antonsen (1975). The Old Swedish inscriptions are from *Sveriges Runinskrifter* (1900--), numbered as in volumes from these provinces: Sö Södermanland, U Uppland, Vg Västergötland, Ög Östergötland. The Old Danish inscriptions are from *Danmarks Runeindskrifter (DR,* 1941-42), as there numbered. ON (incl. OIc) sagas are cited from the series *Íslenzkt fornrit:*

ES: Egils saga	*Hkr: Heimskringla*	*Víg: Víga-glums saga*
Gísl: Gísla saga	*Nj: Njáls saga*	

Other OSc texts cited are:

DL: Dalalagen (1936)	*Kgs: Kongespeilet* (1881)	*SVM: Sju visa mästare* (1887-89)

Flat: Flateyjarbók (1860)   *KS: Konungastyrelsen* (1878)   *UL: Upplandslagen* (1834)

Fris: Codex Frisianus (1871)   *OH: Olav den helliges saga* (1853)   *Vgl: Västgötalagen* (1954)

Gul: Gulatingsloven (1846)   *Post: Postola sögur* (1874) *Ögl: Östgötalagen* (1889)

Heilag: Heilagramanna sögur (1877)   *SnE Gylf: Snorra Edda, Gylfaginning*

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Chapter 7

Lexicon

7.1 The Vocabulary of Scandinavian

The vocabulary, or lexicon, of a language is never static as long as it is spoken and written by a native community. Old words are forgotten, while new ones are borrowed or created. No one user of the language knows all its words, for each occupation has its technical terms and each social group its jargon. Most, perhaps all, speakers have a greater passive than active vocabulary. Myths about languages so primitive that they have only a few hundred words can safely be rejected. No language can manage with less than some thousands. The latest ON dictionary (NO 1975) has c. 50,000 entries, counting compounds, derivatives, and loanwords. Considering how many texts have been lost, this is no doubt only a fraction of the words a speaker or writer of OSc had available.

Any attempt to structure the lexicon runs afoul not only of the large number of words involved, but also of the problem of finding criteria or categories that are meaningful to the student. Most dictionaries are merely alphabetical finding lists, and the only structuring is the information given concerning the classification of each word, in terms of part of speech, morphology, and meanings. There are thesaurus dictionaries in which words are organized according to spheres of meaning, but these are at best useful in trying to find synonyms. In a historical account the best one can do is to classify them by function and form, in such a way as to bring out what is peculiarly Sc and how it originated.

The lexicon of Scand can be studied in the many dictionaries of various types, historical, etymological, practical, bilingual, some of which will be listed at the end of this chapter. Each of these will have anywhere from 60,000 to 250,000 entries, depending on its purpose. In the following overview we shall suggest some approaches to the historical study of Sc words. These will be: the function words (7.2), content words: the native lexicon (7.3), word formation (7.4), borrowing (7.5) and stylistic variation (7.6).

7.2 Function Words

Words occur with greatly varying frequency in any given text. Among those that occur most frequently will be some we can call *function words* (or *functors*), in contrast to *content words.* The function words are few in number and perform functions similar to those of the morphological suffixes (chap. 4 and 5). Some of them are themselves inflected, but most are invariable. A number of them have been treated in the syntax (chap. 6). Here we shall look at their frequency in relation to the rest of the vocabulary. In a word count of three major ON saga texts (Haugen 1942), it was found that 53.2 o/o of c. 400,000 running words was made up by the 100 most frequent word forms. Of these 75 are function words: conjunctions, prepositions, adverbs, pronouns, and auxiliaries:

Conjunctions: ok 'and', *at* 'that, to (inf.)', *en* 'and, but', *er* 'which', *sem* 'which, as', *ef* 'if', *eða* 'or'.

Prepositions: til 'to', *í* 'in', *á* 'on', *með* 'with', *um* 'about, around', *við* 'by', *fyrir* 'for, before', *af* 'of', *eptir* 'after', *frá* 'from', *ór* 'out of', *yfir* 'over'.

Adverbs: þá 'then', *þar* 'there', *svá* 'so', *eigi* 'not', *því* 'with that, therefore', *síðan* 'since', *nú* 'now', *upp* 'up', *inn* 'in', *út* 'out', *vel* 'well', *þegar* 'at once; when', *fram* 'forward', *hér* 'here', *mjǫk* 'very; much', *áðr* 'before', *enn* 'than', *braut (brott)* 'away', *heim* 'home'.

Pronouns: forms of ek 'I', *þú* 'thou, you', *hann* 'he', *hon* 'she', *sá* m., *sú* f. *þat* n. 'that', *þetta* n. 'this', *vér* 'we', *þér* 'you pl.', *þeir* 'they' m., *þau* 'they' n., *ekki* 'nothing', *allr* 'all', *mikit* 'much', *sinn* 'one's own'.

Auxiliary verbs: forms of vera 'be', *verða* 'become', *hafa* 'have', *munu* 'will', *skulu* 'shall'.

These are by no means all of the function words, since many fall below the frequency of the first hundred (e.g. *undir* 'under', *vilja* 'will'). Nor are these function words in all their meanings. The obvious similarity of many to their Eng equivalents reflects a common Gmc origin (except that Eng *they* is borrowed from ON *þeir*). Others have originated or developed new meanings in NGmc, e.g. *ok* 'and' cognate with Ger *auch* 'also', *brott* 'away' from *(á) braut* '(on the)way' (*away* is from OE *on wege*).

7.2.1   While most of them are still in use in ModSc, with appropriate phonetic changes, some have been lost or redefined. The conj. *en* 'and, but' is kept only in Ic, and is elsewhere replaced by the LG *men* 'but' (but cf. BN *enn om* 'what if'). The rel. particle *er* is replaced by *sem* even in Ic (Fa *sum,* elsewhere *som,* but cf Fa *ið,* Da *der*). Outside Ic *ef* is replaced by *um/om* 'if'; *eða* by *eller* (ON *elligar* 'otherwise') 'or' (Fa *ella*); *á* by *på* (from *upp á*

'up on') (Fa *á* and *uppá*); *þegar* by Da BN *når*/Sw *när*, less commonly by Fa *nær (tá iò)* and Ic *nær (þegar)* 'when', and by MLG *straks* (Da BN/Sw *strax*) 'at once'; *mjǫk* 'very' by Da *meget*/BN *meget*, *mye*/Sw *mycket*, but Fa *nóg*/ *nógv* (from *nóg* 'enough'); *áòr* by *fyrr* (NN BN Da *fǿr*/Sw *förr*/Ic Fa also *fyrr*); *sá* and *sú* by *þann* (mainland *den*); *veròa* by *blive*/*bliva*/*bli* (from MLG *bliven*, but also Fa *veròa*/NN *verta*/Sw *varda*) 'become, be (pass.)'; *munu* by *skulu* in a simple future sense (Fa *munna*/*skula*, elsewhere in special meanings Da BN *monne*/NN *mune*/Sw *månde*); *því* (Fa *tí*/NN *di*/Sw *ty*) mostly by Da BN NN *derfor* (NN also *difor*)/Sw *därför*. Most striking is the general replacement in most contexts of the neg. adv. *eigi* by the neg. n. pron. *ekki* (Fa *ikki*/NN *ikkje*/Da BN *ikke*/Sw *icke*); in Sw *icke* is now somewhat literary and is mostly replaced by *inte* (OSw *ingte*).

In all, these are 14 out of the 75 functors listed above (7.2). The changes mostly occurred in late MSc and are common to the mainland languages (less in Fa and Ic). Comparison with corresponding word counts of the modern languages shows a sharp increase of such words as the indef. art. *ein*/*en*, the indef. pron. *man* 'one' (modeled on Ger), and the refl. pron. *sig*/*seg* (by reduction of the functions of the mediopassive). The modal aux. *kunne*/ *kunna* 'be able', *må*/*måste* 'must', *få* 'may, can', *ville*/*vilja* have become more common. Adv. like *også*/*också* 'also', *bare*/NN *berre* 'only', *jo*/Sw *ju* 'yes; you know', in Sw the MLG loans *även* 'also, even', *kanske* 'maybe', *redan* 'already' have jumped in frequency, as have the preps. *mot* 'against, toward', *hos* 'at, with' (MLG), and in Sw *genom* 'through' and *mellan* 'between' (Allén 1970).

7.3   Content Words: The Native Lexicon

7.3.1 *The Germanic Heritage.* The PSc runic inscriptions are too stereotyped and meager to reflect the vocabulary of their time. They contain in all c. 180 different words, of which 76 are proper names. They repeatedly use a word that has vanished, *alu*, apparently meaning 'good luck' (unless it is preserved in ON *ǫl*, modern *øl*/*öl* 'beer'). It has been suggested (Skautrup 1.75) that at least 2000 roots in modern Da can be traced back to Gmc, and that another 1,200 have arisen in CSc. This means that a high proportion of the central vocabulary has its basis in indigenous experience. Dictionaries of OSc are treasure houses of the native lexicon: for ON Cleasby/Vigfusson (1874, 1957) and Fritzner (1896, 1972), now *Norrøn ordbok* (NO, 1975); for ODa Kalkar 1881–1918; for OSw Söderwall (1884–1918, 1925–).

When Nordic words are clearly related to other Gmc words without being

identical, it happens that this is due to deviating choice among available alternates. ON *ljós* 'light' (Ic Fa *ljós*/NN *ljos*/Sw *ljus*/BN Da *lys*) and the corresponding OE *lēoht/līht*, OHG *lioht* (Ger *Licht*) are both from Gmc **leuh-*, which in turn is from IE **leuk-* (cf. Lat *lux* 'light'). But Sc chose a form with the suffix *-s-*, WGmc *-t-*. ON *bjǫrn* 'bear' (Ic Sw *björn*/Fa NN BN Da *bjǿrn*) corresponds to OE *bera*, OHG *bero* (Ger *Bär*), all from Gmc **ber-*, IE **bher-* 'brown'; here the WGmc shows a weak *an*-stem (**beran*), NGmc a reshaped *u*-stem (**bernu*). The word for 'up' could form its compar. with the suffix **-ōz-* or **-iz-* in Gmc (4.2.3): OHG chose the former, resulting in *obaro* 'upper' (Ger *ober*), NGmc (with OE and OFris) the latter, giving ON *ǿfri*, with i-umlaut (rule 12, 2.4.6) (Ic *efri*/Fa *evri*/NN Da BN *ǿvre*/Sw *övre*).

It is no longer possible to reconstruct the reasons for these and other varying choices by the speakers of different dialects. An interesting case is the concept 'woods', for which CSc had four competing words: *mǫrk, holt, viðr, skōgr*. The three first are from IE: *mǫrk* (Gmc **marku-*) originally meant 'margin, boundary' (cf. Lat *margo,* Eng *margin*) and designated the delimiting function of the woods; *holt* (Gmc **hulta-*) referred to a grove (cf. Ger *Holz* 'wood'); *viðr* (Gmc **wiðu-*) meant 'tree'. *Skōgr* is documented only in NGmc (**skōɣaz*), but the root must be an IE **skek-* 'thrust, project', in ablaut (2.3.3) relation with ON *skagi* 'headland' (Da *Skagen* 'The Scaw'), OE *scaga/sceaga* 'copse'. In ModSc the last has become the regular word for 'woods, forest' (Ic Fa *skógur*/NN BN Sw *skog*/Da *skov*). ON *viðr* is now the substance 'wood', *holt* is a grove, and *mǫrk* (Ic *mörk*/Fa NN BN Da Sw *mark*) is an unforested area, mostly a cultivated field (since the burning of many forests to make fields). In WGmc **walþuz* (which may be related to 'wild' and 'wool') became the word for 'woods' (Ger *Wald*), but the OE *weald* was displaced by the Fr loanword *forest.* In CSc this word acquired the meaning of an unforested plain, ON *vǫllr* (Ic *völlur*/Fa *vǿllur*/NN BN *voll*/ Da *vold*/Sw *vall*).

In general one can say that the Nordic peoples were well equipped with words for their natural environment, that world of earth, water, air, and fire that sustained them. The words for farming and hunting, house and home, tame and wild animals were much the same as today. They had words for the most important metals, for swords and shields, and for navigation. Apparently there was only one word for craftsman, *smiðr* 'smith', now limited to blacksmiths, though compounds include *gullsmed* 'goldsmith', *sǿlvsmed* 'silver smith' etc. The old social order found expression in words for 'king', 'earl', 'chief', 'servant', 'thief', 'whore' and other social roles, as well as the areas and organizations within which they functioned, in such words as ON *bygð* 'settlement', *grend* 'neighborhood', *bǿr/bý* 'farmstead

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> village > town', *fylki* 'folk-land, county', *sýsla* 'administrative district', *land* 'land, region, country'. The pagan faith found its expression in terms for gods (*goð*) of two kinds, the *æsir* (rulers and wargods) and the *vanir* (fertility divinities), and a host of minor spirits, the *alfar* 'elves', *troll* 'trolls', the *huldufolk* 'hidden folk', and the *vættir* 'beings, wights', etc. (Haugen 1967).

7.3.2 *Nordic innovations.* To give some idea of the creative activity of early Sc speakers, we shall here list a selection of words that appear in OSc and do not have any obvious equivalents in related Gmc languages. Their roots may be in IE and Gmc, but the particular form they have taken is peculiar to Sc. The words are generally ones that have survived into one or several modern languages, though we shall not try to give a complete inventory of their descendants.

(a) *Physical terrain: bakki* 'hill', *fors/foss* 'falls', **grýja* 'dawn' (ON *grýjandi,* NN BN Da Sw *gry*), *kelda* 'spring' (from *kaldr* 'cold'), *kjarr* 'thicket' (esp. on marshy ground) (Sw *kärr*/Da *kær*/Fa *ker*/Nw *kjerr*), *logn* 'calm' (Sw *lugn*), *myrkr* 'darkness' (Ic Fa *myrkur*/NN *mørker*/Da BN *mørke*/Sw *mörker*), *mýrr* 'marsh' (cf. Ger *Moos*), *ný ok nið* 'waxing and waning' (moon's phases), *oddi* 'headland' (Sw *udde*), *rif* 'reef' (Nw Da Sw *rev,* same word as *rif* 'rib'), ODa/OSw *þordyn* 'thunder' (*þórr* 'thunder' plus *dyn* 'noise') (Da BN *torden,* Sw *tordön*), *þúfa* 'tuft, hillock'.

(b) *Plants and trees: barr* 'evergreen needles' (Nw *bar*/Sw *barr*), *einir* 'juniper', *grein* 'branch', *grǫn* 'spruce' (ModSc *gran*), *heggr* 'chokecherry', *kvistr* 'twig', OSw *laf* 'lichen' (Nw Da Sw *lav*), *lundr* 'grove', *lyng* 'heather', *næfr* 'birchbark' (Ic *næfur*/Fa *nævur*/NN BN *næver*/Sw *näver*), *sef* 'rushes, sedge' (Ic *sef*/Fa *sev*/NN *sev*/BN Da *siv*/Sw *säv*).

(c) *Animals and birds: aurriði* 'trout' (from *aurr* 'sand' and *riði* 'rider') (Ic *urriði*/Fa *eyrriði*/NN *aure*/Sw *öring*/Da *ørred*/BN *ørret*), *gedda* 'pike' (Nw *gjedde*/Da *gedde*/Sw *gädda*), *gríss* 'pig' *(gris),* *kiðlingr* 'kid' (Ic *kiðlingur*/ Fa *kettlingur*/Nw Da Sw *killing*), *kjúklingr* 'gosling' > 'chick' (Ic Fa *kjúklingur*/NN *kjukling*/Sw *kyckling*/Da BN *kylling*), *krákr* 'crow' (Ic Fa *kráka*/NN BN *kråke*/Sw *kråka*/Da *krage*), *már/*máki* 'gull' (ON *már*/Sw *mås*/ NN *måse;* BN *måke*/Da *måge*), *refr* 'fox' (Ic *refur*/Fa *revur*/NN BN *rev*/Da *ræv*/Sw *räv*), *sild* 'herring' (Sw *sill*), *þerna* 'tern' (Fa *terna*/Da Nw *terne*/ Sw *tärna*).

(d) *Building and houses: bjalki* 'beam' (Ic Fa *bjálki*/Nw *bjelke*/Sw *bjälke*/ Da *bjælke*), *dýna* 'featherbed' (Ic 'mattress') *(Fa dýna*/NN BN Da *dyne*/Sw *dyna*), *fjós* 'cowbarn' (from **féhús* 'cattle house') (Ic Fa *fjós*/Nw *fjøs*/Sw *fähus*), *fjǫl* 'board' (Ic Sw [rare] *fjöl*/Fa Nw *fjøl*/Da *fjæl*), *golf* 'floor' (Ic

gólf/Fa *gólv*/Sw NN *golv*/BN Da *gulv*), *hilla* 'shelf' (Ic *hilla*/Fa *hill* vs. Nw *hylle*/Da *hylde*/Sw *hylla*), *ljóri* 'smoke vent' (Fa *ljóari*/NN BN *ljore*/Sw *ljure*), ODa *puthæ* 'pillow' (Nw *pute*/Sw *puta*/Da *pude*), *svalar* pl. 'hallway' (Nw *sval*/Da Sw *svale*), *sǽng* 'bed' (Fa *song*/Nw Da *seng*/Sw *säng*).

(e) *Food and clothing: dǫgurðr* 'breakfast' (from **dagverðr* 'day meal') (Ic *dögurður*/Fa *dǫgurði*/Nw *dugurd*/Sw *dagvard*/Da *davre*), *ermr* 'sleeve' (from *armr* 'arm') (Ic Fa *ermi*/Nw *erme*/Sw *ärm*/Da *ærme*), *grýta* 'kettle' (from *grjót* 'stone') (Ic Fa *grýta*/Nw *gryte*/Sw *gryta*/Da *gryde*), *hetta* 'hood' (= Ic Fa/Nw *hette*/Sw *hätte*/Da *hætte*), *hleypir* 'rennet' (Ic/Fa *loypingur*/ Nw *lǿype*/Sw *löpe*/Da *lǿbe*), *kaka* 'cake' (Eng word from Sc) (Ic Fa Sw *kaka*/ Nw *kake*/Da *kage*), *kjǫt* 'meat' (Ic Fa *kjöt*/NN *kjǿt*/Sw *kött*/Da *kǿd*/BN *kjǿtt*), *lúfa* 'shock of hair' > 'cap' (NN *luve*/Sw *luva*/Da BN *lue*), *náttverðr* 'supper' (lit. 'night meal') (= Ic/Fa *natturði*/NN *nattverd*/Sw *nattvard*/Da BN *nadver* 'Lord's supper'), *skegg* 'beard' (= Ic Fa/Nw *skjegg*/Sw *skägg*/Da *skæg*).

(f) *People: drengr* 'hero, man' (Ic *drengur* 'youth'/Fa *drongur* 'hero; bachelor'/Nw *dreng* 'hired man'/Sw *dräng* 'hired man'/ Da *dreng* 'boy'), *dróttning* 'queen' (Ic *drott-*/Fa Sw *drott-*/Nw Da *dron-*), *ekkja*/ODa *ænkiæ* 'widow' (from *ein-*) (Ic *ekkja*/Fa *einkja*/NN *enkje*/Da BN *enke*/Sw *änka*), *fǫðurfaðir* 'grandfather' (etc.) (Ic *afi*/Fa *abbi*/Nw Sw Da *farfa(de)r*), *félagi* 'companion' (Eng *fellow* borr. from Sc.) (= Ic/Fa *felagi*/NN *felage*/BN *felle*/Da *fælle*), *kerling* '(old) woman, wife' (from *karl* 'man') (= Ic Fa/Nw *kjerring*/Sw *käring*/ Da *kælling*), *níðingr* 'dastard' (in ModSc only as loan from ON), *stafkarl* 'beggar' (lit. 'staff-man') (= Ic/Fa *stakkal* 'poor fellow', commiserative term, as in Nw *stakkar*/Sw *stackare*/Da *stakkel*), *systkin* 'sibling' (= Ic Fa/NN *sysken*/BN Da *sǿsken*/Sw *syskon*), ODa OSw *twinling* 'twin' (Nw Da Sw *tvilling*), *þrǽll* 'slave, serf' (Eng *thrall* from Sc) (= Ic/Fa *trælur*/NN *træl*/ BN *trell*/Sw *träl*/Da *træl*).

(g) *Law and commerce: eykt* 'working period' (= Ic/Fa BN *ǿkt*/NN *ǿykt*, now hist. or dial.), *kaupangr* 'town, market place' (= Ic *-ur*/Nw *kaupang*/ Sw *köping*/Da *kǿbing*, only hist. or in place names), *knǫrr* 'merchant ship' (Ic *knörr*/Fa *knǿrrur*/Nw *knarr*, now only hist.), *leiðangr* 'naval conscription' (hist. word, Nw *leidang*/BN Da *leding*/Sw *leding, ledung*), *lǫg* pl. 'law' (Eng word borrowed from Sc) (Ic *lög*/Fa *lóg*/NN *log, lov*/BN Da *lov*/Sw *lag*), *orrosta* 'battle' (hist. word Ic Fa *orrusta*), *rán* 'robbery' (= Ic Fa/Da Nw *ran*/ Sw *rån*), *rannsaka* 'investigate, examine' (Eng *ransack* borrowed from Sc) (= Ic Fa/Nw *ransake*/Sw *rannsaka*/Da *ransage*), *skeið* 'longship' (hist. word), *umboðsmaðr* 'deputy' (= Ic Fa *-maður*/NN *ombodsmann*/BN *ombudsmann*/ Sw *ombudsman*/Da *ombudsmand*).

(h) *Descriptive terms: dofinn* 'dull' > 'lazy' (= Ic/Fa *dovin*/Nw *doven*/Sw *duven* 'dull'), *fátǿkr* 'poor' (Ic Fa *fátækur*/Nw Sw Da *fattig*), *hǿgri* 'right'

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(Ic *hægri*/Fa *hǿgri*/NN *hǿgre*/Sw *höger*/Da *hǿjre*/BN *hǿyre*), *kátr* 'merry' (Ic Fa *kátur*/Nw Sw *kåt*/Da *kåd*), *mjúkr* 'soft' (Ic Fa *mjúkur*/NN Sw *mjuk*/ BN *myk*/Da *myg*), *spakr* 'wise' > 'quiet, moderate' (Ic Fa *spakur*/Nw Sw *spak*/Da *spag*), *úsǽll* 'unhappy' > 'miserable' (Ic *ósæll* 'unhappy'/Fa *ussaligur* 'miserable'/Nw Da *ussel* 'miserable'/Sw *usel* 'miserable'), *vándr* 'bad' (Ic *vándur*/Fa *óndur, vondur*/NN *vond*/Sw Da BN *ond*).

As appears from the comments, some of these have been lost, and some have received new meanings. But they should give an impression of the breadth of the native lexicon (for further details and more such words see Skautrup 1.155–167).

7.4 Word Formation

7.4.1 *Definitions.* A large and inexhaustible part of the lexicon has always been those complex and compound words created by the process of word formation. Many of the words in the preceding section show by their form that they are or have been either *derivatives* or *compounds.* A derivative consists of a *stem* with one or more affixes: a preceding affix is a *prefix,* a following one is a *suffix.* So *úsǽll* 'unhappy' (7.3.2h) consists of the stem *sǽl-* 'happy' to which is prefixed *ú-*, a negative like Eng *un-.* *Kiðlingr* (7.3.2c) 'kid' has the stem *kið* 'kid' to which is suffixed *-ling,* a diminutive. Affixes usually do not exist as full words in the languages and they are often not stressed (though the prefix *ú-* may be stressed), at least not in the same meaning. When two or more full words are joined into one word, with a common stress pattern and a single set of grammatical markers, we speak of a *compound.* So *stafkarl* 'beggar' (7.3.2f) is a compound of *staf-* and *karl,* i.e. a *karl* 'man' who goes about with a *stafr* 'staff'. In CSc most compounds have primary stress on the first member, secondary on the second (2.2.1).

Historically there is a tendency for commonly used phrases to join into compounds. These may, in turn, lose stress on one member, often the second, causing the juncture to disappear and the creation of a new unit word or root. So the above *stafkarl* 'beggar' has been reduced to Nw *stakkar*/Sw *stackare*/ Da *stakkel,* no longer synchronically analyzable as two morphemes, meaning 'unfortunate person' and having a meaningless suffix. Similarly, the compound (or derivative?) *úsǽll,* lit. 'un-happy' has become *ussel*/Sw *usel* 'miserable, shameful'. This trend from phrase to compound to derivative to root makes it impossible to define each of these precisely. For a survey of some attempts by Scand and other linguists to make such definitions see Bauer (1978).

There is nothing to prevent a word from having both prefixes and suffixes as well as being compounded of one or more stems.

7.4.2 *Unstressed prefixes.* Even after Gmc established the primary stress on the root syllable, certain prefixes could still occur without stress. There is reason to think that in PSc there were still a number of these (Vonhof 1905; Christiansen 1960). These have been suggested:

Table 53. Unstressed PSc Prefixes

af- 'off'	*fura-/*furi- 'for'	*ufa- 'over'	*uz- 'out of'
*anda- 'against'	*ga- 'perfective; collective'	*umbi- 'about'	
*at- 'to'	*mis- 'mis-'	*un- 'negative'	
*bi- 'transitive'	*tuz- 'negative'	*und- 'away'	

Several of these were also adverbial and could alternatively have stress, in which case they survived as first members of compounds: *af-, and-, at-, for-/ fyr-/fyrir-, mis-, tor-, of-/yfir-, um-, ū-, und-/undan-*. But the two that lost a distinct meaning of their own were unstressed and dropped: **bi-* and **ga-* (cf. Ger *be-* and *ge-*). In a few words they remained before initial liquids and nasals as part of a new cons. cluster, thereby creating new roots:

breiða 'pay' (cf. MLG *bereden*)	*granni* 'neighbor' (Go *garazna*)
glíkr 'like' (cf. Go *galeiks*)	*greiða* 'manage' (Go *garaidjan*)
glófi 'glove' (OEng *glōf*)	*greiðr* 'clear' (Go *garaiþs*)
gnógr 'enough' (Go *ganohs*)	*grein* 'understanding' (Go *garaiþeins*)

Glófi (if it is not borrowed from Eng) comes from **ga-lófi,* where *lófi* 'palm' is the stem; the collective prefix would then indicate something that accompanies the palm of the hand. In cpds. the **ga-* may have survived in the vowel *-u-* of *fǫrunautr* 'traveling companion' and *mǫtunautr* 'table

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companion', from **far-ga-naut-az* etc. Otherwise *nautr* 'companion' lacks the prefix found e.g. in Ger *Genosse,* as does *sinni* 'follower' from **ga-sinþē* (cf. Go *gasinþa,* OHG *gisindo*). The prefix *ga-* is cognate with Lat *cum* 'with'. In PSc its perfective function was taken over by the prep. *of* (later *um*), attested on the Eggjum stone (c. 650) and common in the Eddic poems. (Kuhn 1929).

One result of the loss of the prefixes is that a number of ON verbs have several conflicting meaings, e.g. *lúka* can be either 'open' or 'close', corresponding to OE *belūcan* 'close' and *onlūcan* 'open'; to resolve the homonomy ON used extended verb phrases: *lúka aptr* 'close', *lúka upp* 'open'. *Gráta* can be either intr. like OE *grǣtan* 'weep' or trans. like OE *begrǣtan* 'weep for' (cf. *moan* vs. *bemoan*). In later Scand the prefix was reborrowed from MLG by the creation of *begráte/begræde* (cf. Ger *beweinen*).

7.4.3 *Compounds.* In general, the last stem in a cpd. is the head of the underlying construction, which also determines the grammatical class of the whole compound. ON *valkyrja* 'valkyrie' consists of the stems *val-* (which is also a root meaning 'the slain', a m. noun *valr* in the nom. sg.) and *-kyrja* (containing the root *kyr-* 'choose' and the nominalizing f. stem formant *-ja*), which is not an independent word, but means 'chooser'. This modifier-head construction together means 'chooser of the slain' (PSc **wala-kuzjǒ̃*). As is well-known, the valkyries selected, on Odin's behalf, those who were to fall and brought them to his *Valhǫll* 'Valhalla'.

The members of a cpd. may be any part of speech, while the modifier (first member) may also be a prefix (particle or preposition); if it is not a prefix, it may consist of the stem alone or it may be inflected, usually in the gen. Some of the possibilities will be illustrated in the following table. (Note that occasionally hyphens are here written to show junctures in compounds, contrary to Sc practice).

Uninflected roots are *mjall-, bók-, blá-, full-, ak-, far-, drag-.* Nouns in the gen. are *daggar- (dǫgg), sólar (sól).* Adj. can be in the weak form, *hvíta-,* or have *-i* as in *villi-dýr* 'wild animal' or *-s* as in *alls-valdandi* 'all-ruling'; as a rule they are uninflected. Dat. can occur: *hugum-stórr* 'great-minded', but more commonly *hug-stórr.* The same modifying stem noun may occur uninflected, in the gen. sg., and gen. pl., e.g. *konungr* occurs in NO (1975) ten times uninflected, 88 times with *-s,* and 14 times with *-a* (gen. pl.) In *Heimskringla* alone it can appear in all three forms with *-ætt: konung-ætt, konunga-ætt, konungsætt* 'royal family'. Some adv. are formed by a head in the gen.: *fram-leiðis* 'still', *ú-leyfis* 'illegally', *ein-staðar* 'somewhere', *innan-borðs* 'on board'.

Table 54. Compounds in OSc

Head:	Noun	Adjective	Adverb	Verb
Modifier:				
Particle	*and-skoti* 'against-shooter' i.e., enemy, devil	*mis-jafn* 'un-even'	*of-lengi* 'too long'	*tor-tryggja* 'mis-trust, suspect'
Noun	*daggar-dropi* 'dew-drop'	*mjall-hvítr* 'snow-white'	*sólar-sinnis* 'sun-wise' i.e., clockwise	*bók-setja* 'book-set' i.e., record
Adj.	*hvíta-bjǫrn* 'white bear', i.e., polar bear	*blá-klǽddr* 'black-clad' (or blue-)	*fá-títt* 'few-timely' i.e., rarely	*full-nǿgja* 'full-satisfy' i.e. satisfy
Adverb	*brott-ferð* 'away-journey' i.e. departure	*út-fǿttr* 'out-footed' i.e. bowledged	*mið-firðis* 'mid-fjord'	*fyrir-bjóða* 'for-bid'
Verb	*ak-fǿri* 'drive-implement' i.e., vehicle	*far-búinn* 'travel-ready' i.e. ready to leave	*drag-mált* 'drag-spoken' i.e., slow-spoken	— — —

The combination of verbs with following adv. and prep. (extended verbs) is very common, e.g. *bjóða fyrir* in *einum býðr eitt fyrir* 'something occurs to one'. In speech the use of corresponding compounds is less usual, being a marker of learned style; also, the meaning is usually different: *fyrirbjóða* 'forbid'. Only in the perf. part. are these common: *fyrirboðinn* 'forbidden'.

Compounds can consist of more than two members, in that either member can be further compounded. In *drykkjumaðr* 'drinking-man, i.e. drinker', the first member can be compounded to *of-drykkja* 'excessive drinking', making *ofdrykkjumaðr* 'excessive drinker'. *Ferðar-leyfi* 'travel leave', i.e. permission to leave, may be expanded by *heimferð* 'journey home' to make *heimferðar-leyfi* 'permission to leave for home, home leave'. In *jóla-hátíð* 'Christmas holidays', the less common occurrence of compounding in the second member is illustrated (*há-tíð* 'holidays', lit. 'high time').

A number of final stems have been so diluted (7.4.5) in their meaning that they have sunk to the status of suffixes, e.g. *-dómr* 'judgment' > '-dom'. In ON *kristinn* 'Christian' and *heilagr* 'holy' were still distinct adjectives with *dómr*, but in today's Ic they are also compounds: *kristindómur* 'Christianity' and *helgidómur* 'holiness, sacred relic'. Other such suffixlike stems are *-leikr*

(kær-leikr 'love', *sann-leikr* 'truth), without obvious connection with *leikr* 'game'; *-skapr* '-ship, -hood' *(mannskapr* 'manhood', *vándskapr* 'badness, evil', from *skap* 'shape, nature'). Adjectival suffixes are *-samr* '-some' *(friðsamr* 'peaceful', *gásamr* 'observant', from *samr* 'same'); and *-ligr* '-ly' (originally *-líkr,* as in OSw *-liker,* i.e. 'like', e.g. *kærligr* 'loving', *kvennligr* 'womanly').

The semantic relation between stem and modifier varies widely, as the examples show. This becomes evident if one expands them to the sentence that is implied: *brott-ferð* says that someone is going *(ferr)* away *(brott); hvita-bjǫrn* that a bear *(bjǫrn)* is white *(hvítr).* But the cpd. concentrates the content into one word which can then be fitted into another sentence. It is not always possible to determine what the compound means by knowing its parts; a 'white bear' does not have to be a polar bear. Nor can one know that *andskoti* (lit. 'against-shooter' > 'enemy') is the devil. A compound is a gestalt that is more than the sum of its parts, a lexicalized idiom.

The compounds listed here from OSc have not all survived into the later languages; in fact, of the nineteen listed in the table above only five have BN equivalents: *duggdrápe, hvitbjǿrn, blåklædd, midtfjords,* and *forby.* In one case, *farbúinn,* the modern replacement is a Ger loan: BN *reiseferdig/* Sw *resfärdig* (Ger *reisefertig*). But the general principles of compounding have not changed radically, and new compounds are being created in modern times. A type that has proliferated is the noun-incorporating verb *(bók-setja* above, cf. Eng *babysit),* esp. in Sw newspapers: from *pistolskjutning* 'pistol shooting' is derived a new verb *att pistolskjuta* 'to shoot with a pistol', etc.

7.4.4 *Formatives.* These constitute the outer layer of suffixes which are so worn down that we have treated them above as inflections (chap. 4 and 5). They are of IE and Gmc origin and no longer productive in word formation, but their effects are visible in OSc in the forms of related words. We list them as nominal, adjectival, and verbal, illustrating with ON forms and giving the PSc in parentheses:

Table 55. PSc Formatives

(a) *Nominal* (agent, collective, abstraction)

*-ia-	*hjǫrð* 'herd'; *hirðir* 'herdsman'	*(*herð-u: *herð-ia-z)*
	ríkr 'mighty' : *ríki* 'realm'	*(*rīk-az: *rīk-iã)*
	bjǫrk 'birch' : *birki* 'birchwoods'	*(*berk-u: *berk-iã)*
*-iō-	(IE **kaito-* 'wasteland'): *heiðr* 'heath'	*(*haiþ-: *haiþ-iō-z)*
*-ēn-	(IE **kan-* 'sing'): *hani* 'cock'	*(*han-: *han-ēn)*
*-īn	*aldr* 'age' : *elli* 'old age'	*(*alþ-a-z: *alþ-īn)*

(b) *Adjectival* (participial, comparative)

-and-	*fjá* 'hate' v.: *fjándi* 'enemy'	*(*fij-ē-n: *fij-and-ã̃)*
-ana-	*óðr* 'mad': *Óðinn* 'Odin, a god'	*(*woō-a-z: *woō-ana-z)*
-ið-	*auga* 'eye': *eygðr* 'eyed'	*(*aug-ō-n: *aug-ið-a-z)*
-iz-	*langr* 'long' : *lengri* 'longer'	*(*lang-a-z: *lang-iz-ã̃)*
-ōz-	*ríkr* 'mighty' :*ríkari* 'mightier'	*(*rīk-a-z: *rīk-ōz-ã̃)*

(c) *Verbal* (causative, performative)

-ja-	*nafn* 'name': *nefna* 'name' v.	*(*naᵇn-a: *naᵇn-ja-n)*
	dómr 'judgment': *dǿma* 'judge' v.	*(*dōm-a-z: *dōm-ja-n)*
	fór 'went': *fǿra* 'lead' v.	*(*fōr: *fōr-ja-n)*
-ō-	*fiskr* 'fish': *fiska* 'fish' v.	*(*fisk-a-z: *fisk-ō-n)*
	jafn 'even': *jafna* 'smoothe'	*(*eᵇn-a-z: *eᵇn-ō-n)*

The changes that have led to the ON (CSc) forms from PSc were listed above, for
the vowels in 2.4 and the consonants in 3.2. The effects of the above suffixes
are still visible in word forms of modern Sc.

7.4.5 *Derivations.* In OSc the abundance of materials has made possible
a detailed analysis of the productive suffixes of that period (Torp 1909,
1973). We shall not, as above, list the full PSc forms, but organize them ac-
cording to their part of speech and their general semantic value. In this list
the ON words will be divided into morphemes by hyphens. (On the adj.
-Vg-suffix see Venås 1971).

Table 56. PSc Derivational Suffixes

(a) *Nominal*

(1) Actions, agents, instruments (from verbs)

-að-	*batn-a* 'improve': *batn-að-r* 'improvement' (*un-að* 'enjoyment')
-ald	*rek-a* 'drift': *rekald* 'driftwood'
-an	*iðr-a* 'regret': *iðr-an* 'regrets' (*skip-an* 'arrangement')
-átta	*ber-ja* 'fight': *bar-átta* 'battle'
-d/-ð	*hefn-a* 'avenge': *hefn-d* 'vengeance' (*bygg-ð* 'settlement')
-dr/-ðr	*gal-a* 'sing': *gal-dr* 'incantation' (*gró-ðr* 'growth')
-il-	*lúk-a* 'close': *lyk-ill* 'key' (pp. **luk-in-az*)
-ing-	*menn-a* 'bring up, educate': *menn-ing* 'cultivation'
-ning-	*sjóð-a* (p.p. *soðinn*) 'cook': *soð-ning* 'cooking' (*kos-ning-r* 'choice, election')
-skap-	*kveð-a* 'compose poetry': *kveð-skap-r* 'poetry'

-sl-	kenn-a 'know, recognize': ken-sl 'recognition' (pín-sl 'torture'; brig-sl-i 'reproof', from bregð-a 'reprove'
-str	baka 'bake': bak-str 'baking, bakegoods'
-tr	blás-a 'blow': blás-tr 'blowing'

(2) Abstraction of qualities (from nouns and adjectives)

-d/-ð	lang-r 'long': leng-d 'length' (fegr-ð 'beauty', þyng-d 'weight')
-dóm-	sjúk-r 'sick': sjúk-dómr 'sickness' (vís-dómr 'wisdom')
-indi	tíð 'time': tíð-indi 'tidings, news' (sann-indi 'truth')
-leik-	sann-r 'true': sann-leik-r 'truth' (stór-leik-r 'size')
-ni	blind-r 'blind': blind-ni 'blindness'
-sk-a	barn 'child': bern-ska 'childhood' (ill-ska 'rage')
-skap-	vin-r 'friend': vin-skap-r 'friendship' (dreng-skap-r 'manhood')
-t	spak-r 'wise': spęk-t 'wisdom'
-ul-	jak-i 'ice-floe': jǫk-ul-l 'glacier'
-ung-	bráð-r 'hasty': bráð-ung 'haste'

(3) Beings possessing quality or performing action (from nouns and verbs)

-and-i	gef-a 'give': gef-and-i 'giver'
-ar-i	leik-a 'play': leik-ar-i 'player'
-ast-a	unn-a 'love': unn-ast-a 'beloved' (f.)
-ing-	morð 'murder': morð-ing-i 'murderer' (geld-ing-r 'gelding')
-in-n	drótt 'host, band': drótt-in-n 'ruler, king'
-i-r	folk 'band, people': fylk-i-r 'prince'
-ling-	kǫtt-r 'cat': ket-ling-r 'kitten'
-ung-	bróð-ir 'brother': brǿð-r-ung-r 'cousin' (kon-ung-r 'king')
-yn-ja	varg-r 'wolf': varg-yn-ja 'she-wolf'

(b) Adjectival (from nouns, adj., verbs)

-al-l	þeg-ja 'be silent': þag-al-l 'taciturn'
-Vg-	heil-l 'hale, well': heil-ag-r 'holy'
	blóð 'blood': blóð-ig-r 'bloody' (auð-ig-r 'rich'/-ug-r)
	svefn 'sleep': svefn-ug-r 'sleepy'
-in-	happ 'luck': hepp-in-n 'lucky' (gull-in-n 'golden')
	breyt-a 'change': breyt-in-n 'changeable'
-isk-	himinn 'heaven': himn-isk-r 'heavenly'
-lát-	blíð-r 'cheerful': blíð-lát-r 'friendly'
-lig-	hjarta 'heart': hjarta-lig-r 'heartfelt'
-ótt-	krók-r 'hook, corner': krók-ótt-r 'crooked'
-rǿn-	aust-r 'east': aust-rǿn-n 'eastern'

-sam-	*dýr-r* 'dear': *dýr-sam-r* 'precious' (cf. *vin-sam-lig-r* 'friendly')
-sk-	*dan-r* 'Dane': *dan-sk-r* 'Danish' (*heim-sk-r* 'stupid')

(c) *Adverbial* (from adj., nouns, adverbs)

-an	*aust-r* 'east': *aust-an* 'from the east, i.e. west'
-í	*upp* 'up': *upp-í* 'up in, in'
-is	*innan-borð-s* 'on board': *inn-byrð-is* 'on board'
-s	*bǫlvan* 'cursing': *bǫlvan-s* 'accursed, damned'
-t	*lang-r* 'long': *lang-t* 'far'
-um	*bráð-r* 'hasty': *bráð-um* 'hastily, quickly'

(d) *Verbal* (from nouns and adjectives)

-g-	*blóð* 'blood': *blóð-g-a* 'bloody' v.
-k-	*min-ni* 'less': *min-k-a* 'diminish, lessen' (*þur-k-a* 'dry' v.)
-l-	*hǫnd* 'hand': *hand-l-a* 'handle'
-n-	*harð-r* 'hard': *harð-n-a* 'harden' (*sof-n-a* 'fall asleep')
-r-	*blað* 'leaf': *blað-r-a* 'flutter, wave' (*klif-r-a* 'climb')
-s-	*hug-r* 'mind': *hug-s-a* 'think, notice'
-t-	*van-r* 'lacking': *van-t-a* 'lack' (*vak-t-a* 'watch')

In a number of words umlaut has been applied in the derivation (2.4.4). When a final *r* is part of the suffix, it is not set off by a hyphen (*blás-tr* vs. *dansk-r*). Although our examples are confined to added morphemes, it is of course the case that derivation also occurs by subtraction; e.g. *far* 'vessel' is no doubt derived from *fara* 'travel'. One can here speak of root derivation, since *far* is identical to the root of *far-a*.

The only borrowed suffix listed above is *-ar-i* (nom. m.) from Lat *-ārius*, which entered early enough to become part of all the Gmc languages (Eng *-er*, Ger *-er*). Conspicuously absent is the nominal WGmc **-haidu* (Go *haidus* 'manner'), which became Eng *-hood*, Ger *-heit/-keit*. This was borrowed into MSc as *-heit* (Sw BN *-het*/Da *-hed*) and became very popular, as the OSc suffixes were by now well worn-down.

7.5   Borrowing

7.5.1 *Perspectives.* In *Konungs Skuggsjá*, the *King's Mirror*, an instructional dialogue on good behavior written in Old Norwegian c. 1250, a father advises

his son to learn the customs and languages of other people, especially Latin and French, "the two languages that go farthest," but at the same time he should "not neglect his own tongue". The problem here suggested is one that has concerned Scandinavians as far back as our records go. As relatively small peoples they have needed to learn foreign languages at the same time as they have wished to preserve their own.

Even before the Christian missionaries came, Scandinavia received influences from the Roman empire via the hardy traders that made their way to the North. The runic alphabet is one bit of evidence, and another is a modest stock of loanwords from Latin. With Christianity the Roman church brought in Latin as the liturgical language and the international medium of learning. The number of individuals who learned Latin was no doubt small, but they were influential. Their terminology of secular power and clerical thinking dominated all of western Europe, including Scandinavia, until well into the 18th century. On the highest levels of society only French could compete in the late medieval and early modern world.

On a day-to-day level the Scandinavians were in more immediate contact with their Germanic neighbors, the English, the Frisians, and the North Germans, with all of whom they traded. With the rise of the great trading cartel of north German cities known as the Hanseatic League in the 13th century, speakers of Low German came virtually to monopolize Scandinavian commerce, establishing important trade centers at Visby in Sweden and Bergen in Norway, as well as settling in great numbers in Copenhagen and Stockholm. Middle Low German was closest of all WGmc languages to Sc, so it was an easy language to learn, and there must have been many bilingual speakers in Scandinavia.

Cultural, political, and economic dominance thus combined to encourage the use of Latin among the learned and Low German among the laity in the late Middle Ages. Whenever people are required or encouraged to become bilingual, there is a strong tendency for speakers to adopt words and turns of phrase from the dominant language into their own. The Scandinavians were in much the same position as the English people under the dominance of the Normans. Without giving up their own language, they adopted great numbers of terms from the prestige languages. In both areas Latin was the first, but in daily life the most important in England was Norman French, in Scandinavia Middle Low German. The effects on the languages were comparable: just as English is shot through with French, so mainland Scandinavian is deeply imbued with MLG.

In transferring ideas from one language to another, the simplest method is just to take the word that is ready-made in the other language. All it then

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needs is sufficient reshaping to make it fit into the structure of the language learners. Such a word is called a *loanword* and the process is (somewhat misleadingly) called *borrowing.* The alternative is to express the idea either by giving a familiar word a new meaning (*loan extension*) or to create a new word out of native materials. Such a word is often known as a *loan creation* and obviously requires a certain effort. Different language communities react differently to this challenge, and the difference has played a large role in increasing or minimizing the language splits of later centuries within Scandinavia. The standard manuals for searching out the etymologies of Sc words are the dictionaries by Vries (1961) for ON, by Jóhannesson (1956) for Ic, by Torp (1919) for NN, by Hellquist (1922, 1939) for Sw, by Nielsen (1966) for Da, and by Falk/Torp (1910/11) for BN.

7.5.2 *Common Scandinavian.* Such novel products of human ingenuity as iron and wine were brought to the North by the Celts and the Romans, to judge by the words for them, *jarn* and *wīn,* respectively. Before the Viking Age the Frisians were leading traders on the North Sea coast, and it has been suggested that a few early loans have come from them: *akkeri* 'anchor' (ultimately from Lat *anchora*), *bākn* 'beacon', *bātR* 'boat' (which otherwise should have been *beit* in Scand), *dūkR* 'cloth', *sekkR* 'sack' (from Lat *saccus*), *kerra* 'cart' (Lat *carra*), *kāl* 'cabbage' (Lat *caulis*).

It is noteworthy that the Frisians, if it was they and not other Gmc tribes, only transmitted Latin words as part of the cultural stream from the Mediterranean to the North. It is often difficult to be sure just which path a given word took on its way. During the Viking period there were also vigorous contacts with England, which resulted in a whole layer of Nordic borrowings in the English of that pre-Norman era. But the Vikings also learned a great deal in the British Isles. Some of the words that may have been transmitted from Latin by way of England are: *mylna* 'mill' (Lat *molina*), *strǣti* 'street' (Lat *strāta*), *stallari* 'marshal' (Lat *stabularius,* head of the royal stable), *gimr* 'gem' (Lat *gemma*), *mynt* 'coin' (Lat *moneta* 'money'), *penningr* 'money' (OE *penning,* possibly from Lat *panna* 'cloth'), *skutill* 'dish, table' (Lat *skutella* 'small shield'). Clearly OE loans are the king's *hirð* 'court' from OE *hīrēd, kyrtill* 'kirtle' from OE *cyrtel,* and *hanski* 'glove' from OE *handsciō* (lit. 'hand-shoe') (but cf. also OS *handskōh*).

The sphere of high medieval culture that these words reflect was unknown in the pre-Viking era. The Scandinavians were still pagans when the feudal system was already well established in central Europe. The word that more than any other characterizes the new elegance was *prūðR* 'stately, fine, proud', which appears in the court poetry of the 9th century (þorbjǫrn

Hornklofi: *Glymdrápa*). It came to Sc from England as *prūd*, which got it from Old French *prud* (and ultimately from Lat *providus* 'wise'). Along with new products the Vikings brought home new ideas of conduct, at least within court circles.

The influence of Christianity reached far deeper into the life of the people. Latin was a remote language, in spite of its ultimate kinship to Gmc, but fortunately for the missionaries, other Gmc peoples had already adapted their languages to the new faith. In Norway the first missionaries were English, in Denmark and Sweden Saxons, in Iceland both. But they were all speakers of Gmc and probably mutually comprehensible. *Mynstr* 'head church, monastery' (also called *mustari*) may either be from OE *mynster* or MLG *münster*, both from Lat *monasterium. Munkr* can come from OE *munuc* or MLG *monnek*, both from Lat *monachus.* A major investigation of the Christian vocabulary (C.E. Thors 1957) has shown that Eng influence was especially strong in the process of establishing the church: Nordic owes the English clergy its words for church (ON *kirkja*), vestments (*skrúð*, cf Eng *shroud*), incense (*reykilsi*), sacrament (*húsl*, cf. Eng *housel*), confession (*skript*, cf. Eng *shrive, shrift*), mass *(messa)*, bless *(bleza)*, godfather (*guðfaðir*), learned *(lærðr)*, archbishop *(erkibiskup)*, noon (*nón*, from lat *nōna* 'ninth' (hour), i.e. 3 PM).

On the other hand, Scand owes the Germans the building up of the ecclesiastical hierarchy: *próstr* 'dean', *kapitulum* 'chapter', *papa/páfi* 'pope', *dómkirkja* 'cathedral', *stift* 'diocese', Nw *dåp*/Da *dåb*/Sw *dop* 'baptism', *klukka* 'bell'. The three high festivals of the church reflect a striking difference: in OE they all have names adapted from native material: *gēol* 'Yule, Christmas', *ēoster* 'Easter', *hwīta sunnandæg* 'Whitsunday, Pentecost'. Only the first of these was accepted in Sc, making *jul* the standard term. The others are now known as *påske*/Sw *påsk* and *pinse*/Sw *pingst* from MLG *pasche* and *pincoston*, ultimately Hebrew and Greek in origin. Pentecost preserved its OE Whitsun-name only in Ic Fa and NN. Otherwise the majority of the nearly 1,100 words discussed by Thors are either loan extensions like *heilagr* (Gmc **hailaɣaz*) 'holy' and *vígja* (Gmc **wīɣjan*) 'consecrate', with originally pagan meanings; or loan creations like ON *skíriþórsdagr* 'Maundy Thursday', lit. 'cleansing Thursday' (cf. older Eng 'Sheer Thursday').

The church brought with it a great deal more than Christian and theological expressions. The Latin language was often called *bókmál*, the language of books. But the cloisters and their scriptoria did not remain merely centers for the copying or composition of Latin manuscripts. They also made it their task to translate into the native tongue both religious and secular writings, useful for the now as well as the hereafter. Inevitably Latin phrases and

mannerisms of style crept into these translations, and one can distinguish a "learned" style that played an important role in the cultural activities of the church. Without ever entering the spoken language, such syntactic innovations as the use of a relative pronoun (*hvilken* etc.), the Latin uses of the participles, the mediopassive in a passive sense etc. became part of the written language and maintained themselves for centuries.

7.5.3 *The Low German impact.* MLG was not only the language of many missionaries, but even more significantly the language of the nobility and the merchants. We have already (1.8) indicated the social and historical circumstances that established the dominance of LG, especially from c. 1250 to 1450.

The royal court led off by introducing new titles. *Hertug* 'duke' (MLG *hertoch*) competed with older *jarl,* and *greve* 'count' was introduced from German as an equivalent of the French *comte.* Young noblefolk were titled *jungherre* (later *junker*) and *jungfru* (later *jomfru*). The ideal of the times was *kurteisi* (OFr *cortoisie*), the manners of the court, which meant 'courtliness' rather than what we now know as 'courtesy'. In further imitation of German, the term was later replaced (except in Ic) by Da *høflighed*/Sw *hövlighet* (Ger *höflichkeit,* from *Hof* 'court'). The *ridder* 'knight' (MLG *ridder* 'rider') got his *len* 'fief' (MLG *lēn,* cognate with ON *lán* 'loan') from the king. He replaced his native *ǫr* 'arrow' with a *pil* from MLG (from Lat *pīlum* 'spear') and in due time with a *byssa* 'gun' (MLG *busse*) which spewed *krūt* 'gun powder' (MLG *krūt,* orig. meaning 'plant', then 'spices', now replaced in German by *Pulver* for gunpowder).

Trade and handicraft, however, were the field in which the LG impact was most forceful. The very word *handla,* which had meant 'handle', now came to mean 'trade' from the MLG *handelen.* New crafts entered Nordic life with the German craftsmen who settled in the Hanseatic and other German communities of the Scandinavian towns. Among these were (in BN forms): coopers *(bøkker),* tradesmen *(kremmer),* cooks *(kokk)* and their masters, the *kjøgemester* (LG *kökenmēster,* orig. a steward, but later a toast-master). It is not surprising that MLG *koken*/Sw *koka*/Da *koge* outcompeted older *sjōða* 'boil' in the sense of preparing food (it remains as NN *sjoda*/Da *syde*/Sw *sjuda* in a metaphorical sense), or that *smaka* 'taste' (Ic Fa *smakka*/ Nw *smake*/Da *smage*/Sw *smaka*) was introduced from MLG *smaken.* All kinds of new products entered with German names, most of them loans in MLG as well: *kanel* 'cinnamon', *sukker* 'sugar', *mos* '(apple) sauce' (MLG *mōs* 'mush', Ger *Mus*).

In addition to the hundreds of new words that came with the new crafts,

MLG words crowded out natives ones in many areas. *Strīð* 'war, strife' remained in the general sense of 'strife', but organized 'war' came to be *krig*. *Kenna* 'teach' and *nema* 'learn' were replaced by *læra* 'teach, learn' after MLG *lēren*, though they are still in full use in Ic and Fa (in competition with *læra*). Formal instruction became *undervisning* after MLG *unterwīsen*. *Leika* 'play' was limited to children's games, while gambling and music adopted the MLG *spelen* for 'play' (NN *spele*/Da BN *spille*/Sw *spela;* Ic *spila*/Fa *spæla* still compete with *leika*). *Fϕle* 'feel' (MLG *vōlen*) replaced *kenna* in Da (and BN) in a psychological sense, but not in Sw and NN (or Fa/Ic). Hence 'feeling' is Da BN *fϕlelse,* but Ic *kennd*/Fa *kensl(a)*/NN *kjensle*/Sw *känsla.*

Perhaps the most profound influence of MLG on Nordic was the borrowing that forced certain ruptures of the morphological structure. As noted above (7.4.2), the unstressed prefixes were lost, but now the languages of the mainland were overrun with MLG words with prefixes like *be-*, *ent-*, *er-*, *ge-*, *ver-*, and *vor-*. In the 1300's such words as *bedrage* 'deceive' (MLG *bedregen*), *begripe* 'comprehend' (MLG *begrīpen*), *betale* 'pay' (MLG *betalen*) were adopted into Sc. The old CSc words *svíkja, skilja, borga* are still in use, esp. in Ic and Fa, but elsewhere in a more limited sense. In an effort to adapt such words to native structures, the prefix *ent-/unt-* is replaced by *und-* or *um-*, e.g. in rendering MLG *entgān* 'avoid' (Da Sw *undgå*/Nw *unn-*), *entberen* 'do without' (Da *undvære*/BN *unn-*/Sw *umbära*). Words like *erfare* 'experience', *gebærde* 'gesture', *fordærve* 'corrupt' became so common that the prefixes could form new native words like *forbryte* (MLG *vorbrēken*) 'commit a crime', *forglemme* 'forget' (MLG *vorgeten*). Such words also introduced a new principle of stress: the main stress could fall on a later syllable than the first. Only in Ic is the old principle maintained: even an international word like *amerikani* 'an American' is stressed [ā'merikāni], while elsewhere in standard Sc the word is *amerikan(er)* with the stress on [-kā'n-].

New suffixes entered in the same way, even replacing old ones, many of which were by now reduced to a single consonant or vowel: *sók-n* 'seeking, visiting', *spek-i* 'wisdom', *fegr-ð* 'beauty' (7.4.4, 7.4.5). Among the new MLG suffixes were the f. *-inne*/Sw *-inna* in *fyrstinne* 'princess' (MLG *vörstinne*) and *-ske*/Sw *-ska* in *synderske* 'female sinner' (now obsolete!) (MLG *sündersche*). Abstracts proliferate with such suffixes as *-heit/-het/-hed, -else, -ende/-ande,* as in *rettighet*/Sw *rätt-* 'right' (MLG *rechticheit*), *vielse* 'marriage ceremony' (MLG *wigelse*), Sw *meddelande* 'message' (MLG *mededēlent*). The suffixes vary from one language to another, e.g. Da/BN *vielse* is Sw *vigsel* (ON *vígsla*), while Sw *meddelande* is Da/BN *meddelelse.* The suffix *-else* is an interesting case of adaptation. As the Sw example shows, it can continue the native suffix *-sl* or adopt the MLG metathesis with *-els.* It has been

defended as a native suffix (Seip 1947), but in most cases it corresponds to
MLG abstracts in *-nisse* '-ness' or *-ing*. In spite of its frequent use with native
stems (e.g. *fristelse*/Sw *frest-*, 'temptation', *ydmygelse*/Sw *förödmjukelse*
'humiliation'), which shows that it was well established, it has been rejected
in the more puristic languages (NN Fa Ic). Sw shows a special fondness for
-ande, which is a native pres. part. that has been nominalized under the in-
fuence of MLG *-ent;* it is abstract and formal compared to the native *-(n)ing,*
cf. *visslande* and the more concrete *vissling* 'whistling' (Loman 1961, 1962;
Söderbergh 1967). Such Sc suffixes as *-ig* and *-lik/-lig* were identical with
MLG and are therefore common in loans, e.g. *ærlig/ärlig* 'honest' (MLG *erlik*).

7.5.4 *German and Nordic.* It has been said: "The LG influence has touched
virtually every aspect of the Nordic languages" (T. Johannisson 1968). The
common Gmc heritage made it easier to learn and adopt MLG words and has
in any case served to bring the mainland languages closer to West Gmc. It
has also (as pointed out by Seip 1933) brought them closer to each other,
since they most often borrowed the same words. Conversely, it has created
an unbridgeable gap between them and Icelandic. Just as it is virtually impos-
sible to write an English sentence without French loanwords (I have already
used four), so one can hardly write a Da, Sw, or Nw sentence without MLG.
The influence is often so subtle that it escapes even the most hard-bitten
purists.

It is of course true, as noted above (7.3.1, 7.3.2) that the central
vocabulary and the grammatical structure has remained Nordic. Even here
some penetration of MLG is observable, e.g. *men* 'but', *bli(ve)* 'become' for
en and *verða.* It is difficult to be certain about the significance of the MLG
influence in the simplification of the OSc inflectional system. One suspects
that just as English was changed in the same period, so mainland Sc was
simplified by the refusal of foreign speakers to learn the inflections properly.
It is conspicuous that the languages which were farthest from the heartland
of Gmc communication, and least dominated by foreigners, Icelandic and
High German, are the ones that have preserved the inflections best.

Ever since the Sc countries succeeded in establishing strong, centralized
kingdoms, roughly at the time of the Reformation, there has been a certain
tendency to reduce the impact of foreign languages. The reasons advanced
have in part been nationalistic, i.e. a sense of pride in the resources of one's
own language and a desire to maintain its independence. In part they have
also been democratic, i.e. the need to make the language a vehicle of com-
munication for the whole people, without favoritism for those who have
enjoyed the benefits of higher education. As we shall see, such arguments

have had their greatest effect in the West Scandinavian area, where Ic, Fa, and NN have struggled to meet the demands of modern life with a minimum of Dano-German loanwords and a maximum of native creations.

The end of the Hanseatic domination and the introduction of the Reformation put an end to the LG influence, but also tended to create a new one, that of the HG standard, which was also that of Luther's Bible. It appears in the new Bible translations (Sw 1541, Da 1550). In these such OSc words as *miskunn* 'mercy', *saklaus* 'innocent', and *sýsla* 'work' are replaced by words modeled on Luther's version: Da *Barmhjertighed, ustraffet, arbejde* (Ger *Barmherzigkeit, ungestraft, arbeiten*). For these the Ic translation (1584) has the native terms *miskunsemd, óhegndur,* and *erfiða.*

7.5.5 *Modern Scandinavian.* The liberation of Sweden from Danish domination in the early 1500's by Gustavus Vasa led also to the setting up of a standard Sw in opposition to standard Da, though neither of them was yet as fixed as they later became. Thanks to the literary tradition of Ic, the Da authorities permitted an Ic translation that assured the language a survival as a language of culture. Faroese and Norwegian had to wait until the 19th century for some degree of independence. By this time the mainland languages were sufficiently Latinized and Germanized that ON classics like Snorri Sturluson's *History of the Kings of Norway (Heimskringla)* had to be translated, just like *Beowulf* in England.

In the 17th century the Sw grammarian Samuel Columbus could still write that German and Sw were sister languages with the right of borrowing from their common heritage. But he did wish to eliminate the Latin words, as being obscure to the average reader. The Danish grammarian Pontoppidan proposed in 1688 that grammatical expressions like *nomen* and *adjectivum* be translated to *navneord* 'name word' and *tillægsord* 'added word'. In the 18th century Da writers replaced a number of Latin, French, and German words with newly created native ones, e.g. *passion* with *lidenskab* (cf. Ger *Leidenschaft*), *object* with *genstand* (Ger *Gegenstand*) (Skautrup 3.147). By this time Sw and Da had parted company: these became Sw *lidelse* and *sak* or *föremål.* With the Nordic renaissance induced by the Romantic movement in the 19th century came a policy of borrowing old words, and even words from the other Nordic languages in the hope of keeping them together. In modern times Da has adopted words from Sw like *nyfigen* 'curious', *sysselsætte* 'employ', *farsot* 'epidemic', *helse* 'health', *gåde* 'riddle' and Norwegian words like *foss* 'waterfall', *sæter* 'chalet', *hygge* 'coziness', *grætten* 'grumpy' etc. All the languages have adopted the Da word *idræt* 'athletics' (BN *idrett,* Sw *idrott*), but this native Sc word competes with the English loan *sport.*

This leads us into the topic of borrowings from other languages than German. French played a significant role, especially in Sweden, as the language of fashion from the 17th century on. While this role reached its climax under King Gustav III (1771–1792), it was a general European phenomenon, one that made French the language of power and diplomacy, at least down to the fall of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1815. Even now there is no question of the preeminence of French influence in cooking and dress, which has made *haute cuisine* and *haute couture* and all the terms that go with them dominant in Scandinavia as well.

In the 19th century, however, the current of influence began issuing from the English-speaking world for the first time since the Viking Age. In the original instance this came from England and the British empire, secondarily from U.S.A. and Canada. English became the language most commonly taught in Scandinavian schools, especially since World War II. English is even perceived as a threat to the integrity of the Sc languages, much as German was perceived in the 19th century. As in France, less in Germany, the topic has been much discussed in circles that are concerned with linguistic purity. It has been a hot issue in the language commissions that have been created in Scandinavia since World War II.

Many English words entered by word of mouth, e.g. through adoption by sailors and others who were in close contact with speakers of English. These are often written as if they were native words, since they have been adapted to the pronunciation of the natives. Two well-known examples are *gang* which has become Nw *gjeng*/Sw *gäng* and *rails* which is Sw *räls*. Words that have entered through the written language are more likely to retain their English spelling, contrary to the French words which have been generally adapted, especially in Sw and Nw. Fr *bureau* 'office' and *portemonnaie* 'purse' have become Nw/Sw *byrå* (but Da *bureau*) and Nw *portemoné*/Sw *portmonnä*/Da *portemonnæ*, while Eng *bag* and *baby* have kept their spelling, although they are pronounced [begg/bæg, be'bi]. A word like *nylon* has kept its spelling, but in Sw it is pronounced as spelled [nylåʻn], in Nw [ny'lån], while in Da they recommend an Eng pronunciation [nai'lån] (Haugen 1977).

English words in Sc are especially associated with the preeminence of the English-speaking world in the field of industrialization. Along with this has gone an emphasis on sport, clubs, games, men's clothing, and new political concepts. The whole industry connected with leisure society is dominated by English, from *jeans* to *swimming pools*. A great many of these words are ingested into Sc without adaptation, either for their prestige value or for their easy availability.

7.6 Current Trends: Language Planning

Each of the Sc countries has its language problems, and in each there is not only a corps of linguists and language teachers at work on them, but also a widespread concern that surfaces in the public press. In different degrees the public and the linguists in each country are concerned with (1) the dialect fragmentation within the country; (b) cultivation of the national norms in the interest of correctness and adequacy; (c) resistance to foreign pressures ; (d) the needs of indigenous minorities, e.g. Lapps (Sami) and Greenlanders; (e) the needs of immigrant workers, especially non-Scandinavian; (f) a new awareness of handicaps put upon sociolectal groups, e.g. farmers, workers, or women (often called, euphemistically, "minorities"). In each of these areas there is both a descriptive and a practical (i.e. sociopolitical) component. We can only hint at these problems and refer the reader to fuller sources (e.g. Haugen 1976; Kloss 1978; Molde 1979).

7.6.1 *Icelandic.* The struggle to maintain the continuity of Ic written tradition with its past has continued in full vigor. The pride that found expression in Bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson's Bible translation (1584) and his prefaces is still maintained in the face of the almost insuperable problems of purism in a modern, technological world. Active lexicographic work toward a comprehensive historical dictionary to replace the invaluable Blöndal (1924, 1963) is going on at the University of Iceland in Reykjavik. Iceland's new situation after World War II as a participant in world affairs was recognized in a manifesto by three leading linguists in the first of a series of volumes entitled *Nýyrði* 'New Words' (4 vols., 1953–56), which aimed to provide a consistent set of Ic replacements of foreign technical terms in theoretical as well as applied sciences. To be honored as a successful *orðasmiður* 'word smith' is the ambition of most Ic writers. The fierce language loyalty of the Icelanders is usually attributed to their combination of literacy and isolation, but in a recent article Helgi Guðmundsson extends the number of reasons to twentyfive! (1977).

While the schools maintain and most writers observe a remarkable discipline in this respect, the spoken language has inevitably escaped these bonds. Higher education in the disciplines of the scholarly and scientific world requires the use of foreign languages, primarily English, but also Danish and German. On the popular level the presence of American troops and of Anglo-American pop culture has led to the adoption of many English words in daily speech, along with the survival of older loans. Although 'atom' is officially *frumeind* 'basic unit', *atóm* is listed without comment in Böðvarsson's dictio-

nary (1963). The word is used in the title of one of Laxness's novels, *A tómstöðin*, 'the Atom Station', and in the term for advanced modernistic poetry, *atómkveðskapur!* A certain degree of bilingualism is the condition and consequence of such a policy. Many of the terms show excellent replacements and have been widely accepted: *sími* 'telephone' (from *sími* 'rope, cord'), *vél* 'machine' (from *vél* 'trick, art, deception'), *tækni* 'technology' (imitating the international word), *berkli* 'tubercle' (from the stressed syllable). Others seem clumsy, e.g. *verksmiðjuskoðunarstjóri* 'work-smithy-overseeing-chief', i.e. chief factory inspector (but cf. the corresponding Da *fabrikoverinspektør*). In any case they do not promote easy communication with the mainland languages.

In 1964 an official language committee, *Íslenzk málnefnd,* was organized to advise on language problems and to cooperate with corresponding Nordic bodies. In the same year an informative collection of essays on Icelandic appeared (ed. H. Halldórsson). There is no history of Icelandic, but the interested student is referred to Stefán Einarsson's excellent grammar (1945).

7.6.2 *Faroese.* The problem of maintenance and cultivation is far greater than in Iceland, since the Faroese are fewer in number, closer to Denmark, and lack a continuous tradition of writing. The very recency of the elevation of Faroese to the status of official language has faced its users with problems of extreme difficulty and sensitivity. In 1965 the Faroes acquired for the first time an institution of higher learning at which language planning could be systematically carried on, the Fróðskaparsetur Føroya (Academia Færoensis), literally 'Science Center of the Faroes'. A scientific journal *Fróðskaparrit* had been published by a corresponding society since 1952. As in Iceland, work is going on towards a more complete historical dictionary than the ones now available. These are a Faroese-Danish (Jacobsen-Matras 1961, supplement by Poulsen 1974) and a Danish-Faroese (Johannes av Skarði 1967), which are normative, not descriptive. Their purpose is to serve the movement toward the establishment of a native norm of Faroese, certainly not to record what Faroese speakers (or even writers) actually do.

However excellent these and other works (e.g. by Jakob Jakobsen), the Faroes have by their unique position attracted the attention of outside scholars, such as Werner (bibliographies 1964, 1965, 1968), Lockwood (grammar, 1955), Hagström (1967, 1979), and Clausén (1978).

Clausén's work is particularly apropos, since it is a survey of the language situation based on study of written as well as oral sources and personal contact with Faroese language planners. Her work shows that attitudes vary

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from fervent purism to apathetic laissez-faire, and that there is great varia-
tion in the degree of acceptance of planned innovations. Of the 580 'new'
words she selected from Fa newspapers 1974–75, 55 proved to be wholly
Faroese, 330 were loanwords or loan translations of Danish terms, 17 were
of international origin, and 178 were calqued on Icelandic. The most contro-
versial of these were the Ic words, which to Faroese purists represented the
best model, while others resented the fact that they were novel and almost as
foreign as the Danish. The word *lýðveldi* 'republic', used in the Fa radio,
proved to be known to only 18 out of 70 randomly selected informants.

What appears clearly from these and other investigations is that Fa is in
a far less advanced stage of language planning than Ic. Words of Da origin
are used freely in much ordinary writing and certainly in daily speech to a
higher degree than in Ic. The use of ON-Ic words immediately gives one's
style a level of greater dignity and formality, as shown in two translations by
Matras of writings by the same author: in a philosophical essay native inno-
vations are used, in personal diary notations Danish words are freely adopted.

7.6.3 *N-Norwegian (nynorsk).* Aasen's dictionary (1873) with the supple-
ment by Ross (1895), on which the lexicon of NN is based, contained some
60,000 entries. Aasen was consistently puristic in his inclusion and exclusion
of words; each one was given a single, normative orthography and full gram-
matical and semantic information, with dialect variations indicated. Recent
words learned from books (i.e. Danish) were omitted or marked with a
warning symbol. Definitions were in Da, but etymologies were traced back
to Old Norse. He was also firm in his exclusion of low and abusive terms (here
Ross was more liberal). Work on *Norsk ordbok,* a comprehensive NN dictio-
nary, containing not only words from the dialects, but also from the exten-
sive NN literature of the past century or more has been under preparation
since 1930. Volume 1 (A-D) appeared in 1966, volume 2 (D-F) in 1978;
work continues under the auspices of Norsk Leksikografisk Institutt, at
which projects for both Norwegian language varieties are in the making.

In its earlier years the NN movement made some attempts in the direction
suggested by Ic of avoiding foreign terms and replacing them with native
innovations. Since the NN norm was created in defiance of the dominant Da
in Norway, it is not surprising that any word of Da cast would be proscribed.
Since Da and NN are closely related, this meant a difficult selection among
alternates. The bulk of the vocabulary was common, with only a difference
in spelling or pronounciation, e.g. *fot* 'foot' vs. Da *fod* [fo'ð], *bein* 'bone'
vs. Da *ben* [be'n]. The great deviance came in the use of the Ger loanwords
in Da, which were felt to create a style at variance with Norwegian speech.

In spite of the fact that many of these had penetrated into all or most Norw dialects, they were systematically rejected by the writers of NN. Special attention was given to prefixes and suffixes of Ger origin, *be-, er-, for-, -heit, -else* (7.5.3). In a few cases this proved to be unrealistic, e.g. *betale* 'pay' could not, as in Ic, be replaced by *borga*, which meant 'lend'. But *kjærlighed*, spoken in many Nw dialects as *kjærligheit*, could be and was replaced by *kjærleik* 'love', cf. Sw *kärlek*.

On the other hand, there was little or no resistance to international words of Latin-Greek origin. The sciences have not received new names on the order of the Icelandic *eðlisfrœði* 'physics', *þjóðfélagsfrœði* 'sociology', *líffrœði* 'biology', but are known, as in BN, by phonetic-orthographic Nw forms: *fysikk, sosiologi, biologi.* In the reform of 1938 an effort was made to find common forms for all words pronounced alike in the two languages, and an extensive system of variants was established for words that were not pronounced alike, but were obviously related: *stein/sten* 'stone', *høyra/høre* 'hear', *vatn/vann* 'water' etc.

Since WW II the number of communities electing NN as first language has steadily declined, thanks to the extensive urbanization of the country. Today it lies around 17 o/o of Norw school children, all in rural communities, concentrated in the midland and western parts of the country. Even so, this constitutes a viable constituency, greater by far than the combined populations of Iceland and the Faroes. It is conspicuous that many persons who both write and speak NN are occupying positions of high responsibility and wide influence. On an intellectual level it has a distinguished membership, with a strong literary output and an outstanding theater. It is weak in the commercial sector, and has not been able to maintain a daily press.

NN can vary in style from a highly archaic language, drawing esoterically on the remoter dialects and the creative activity of older writers, to a modern prose style that is not markedly different from that of BN, except for certain minimum grammatical and lexical differences. Its distinctive potential for poetry is especially high.

7.6.4 *Swedish.* The great historical dictionary of the Swedish Academy (SAOB) began appearing in 1898 and in 27 volumes had reached *sluv* by 1977. Current usage is regulated by the appearance at irregular intervals of *Svenska Akademiens Ordlista* (10th edit. in 1973), a kind of blue book of "correct" Swedish. In addition, there is (under the auspices of the Academy) a constantly renewed *Riktig svenska* 'Correct Swedish' (1939) by Erik Wellander, a "Fowler" for Swedish. While the Academy sponsors these works, it no longer does any of the work itself. Much of it is in the hands of Nämn-

den för svensk språkvård 'Commission for Swedish Language Cultivation' (1944), whose moving spirit has been Bertil Molde. It publishes a series of monographs as well as a quarterly journal entitled *Språkvård* and has actively supported inter-Scandinavian language planning. It cooperates also with various technical bodies on the problem of scientific terminology.

The striking fact about Swedish vocabulary in recent years has been its lively trend towards slang and the spoken language in its writing. From having been a rather rigidly regulated language, it has become in the last generation one of the most unrestrained. The last barrier to fall was the long-maintained artificiality of the verb plurals (*jag är, kom; vi äro, kommo*). Literary and journalistic style now freely admits vivid and expressive terms from slang as well as from abroad, above all English terms. The lists of new words published in the Nordic series from time to time (*Nordiske språkspørsmål* 1955–1967, *Språk i Norden* 1970 –) are overwhelmingly characterized by Anglo-American loans and loan translations. Contrary to the smaller langauges so far discussed, there is no marked purism, only a search for the most adequate international terms in technology, and the most vivid native ones in literature

There is a useful one-volume illustrated dictionary of Swedish edited by Molde (1955) and numerous bilingual ones, above all the comprehensive technical dictionary of Gullberg (2. ed., 1977). While Sw is not as hospitable to dialect usage as Nw, there are active research programs going on both in traditional dialectology (a comprehensive dialect dictionary is being prepared at the Uppsala dialect archive) and in the newer field of sociolinguistics, among the leaders in the latter being Dahlstedt and Loman. Loman is now at the Sw university in Åbo (Turku), Finland, where he has studied the problems of maintaining Sw against Finnish encroachments. Projects for the study of minority groups and for strengthening their adjustment to majority life have been widely initiated. Even the Finns in Sweden will have a representative in the new Scandinavian Language Secretariat (1.9).

7.6.5 *Danish.* The great historical dictionary (ODS) of Da is the only one in Sc that is complete (27 vols., 1918–1952). Although Da has no academy, it appears to be the most stabilized of the Sc norms. Dialects are actively studied at the archives, especially in Copenhagen and Århus, but do not make much impact on the standard. They have shown more tendency to weaken into regional variants of the standard than elsewhere, thanks no doubt to the dominance of Copenhagen. A study of phonetic development in Copenhagen over the past 130 years by Brink and Lund (1975) suggests that class differences still exist, but are leveling out. Written Da is hospitable to Eng loans, as the lists of new words show. One of the fullest bilingual dictionaries

available is the *Dansk-Engelsk ordbog* of Vinterberg and Bodelsen (2. ed., 1966). There is a Dansk sprognævn (1955), which publishes irregularly (and not very enthusiastically) a news letter entitled *Nyt fra Sprognævnet.* A series entitled *Ny ord i dansk* was just publishing in 1978 the new words from 1970–71. In this list the great majority of loans are obviously from English, either directly or indirectly (via Swedish or German): *drugstore, egotrip, freak, hotpants; armvridning* 'arm twisting', *græs* 'grass' = 'marihuana', *paraplyorganisation* 'umbrella organziation', *rotteræs* 'rat race' etc. One can clearly observe the effects of the American media language.

Developments down to the 1950's are described in great detail in Skautrup's magnificent history, vol. 4 (1968). In 1948 Da freed itself of certain stumbling blocks to inter-Scandinavian reading: *aa > å, kunde* etc. *> kunne,* and capitals on nouns were abolished (no one misses them).

7.6.6 *B-Norwegian (bokmål).* The creation of Norsk språkråd 'The Norwegian Language Council' in 1971 to replace the postwar Norsk språknemnd has tended to stabilize the situation of the two Norwegian language forms. It has created a forum where representatives of both can meet for discussion, without having a veto on the decisions made by the representatives of the other language. Since NS is an official, advisory body under statutes passed by the national parliament, it is well funded and maintains a permanent secretariat. The BN section comprises representatives of a whole spectrum of views, from the radicals, who would bring it as close to NN as possible, to the conservatives who would keep it close to the traditional *riksmål.* In spite of being represented in the commission, the conservatives have through private initiative brought out their own *Riksmålsordboken* (1977), ed. by Tor Guttu, which is the authority for all conservative newspapers and many writers.

This work continues the tradition of the *Norsk Riksmålsordbok,* complete in two massive volumes (1937–1957). While this dictionary represented the written Dano-Norwegian from 1814 to the present, it was generous in its inclusion of Norwegian words used in modern writers, many of them dialectal. It has been characteristic of BN since the liberation of Norway in 1814 that it has freed itself of the Da vocabulary step by step and has been approaching the spoken language, first of the cultivated class, later of the urban and rural dialects. Since WW II the trend to further opening stimulated by the *samnorsk* intentions of the reform of 1938 has had its reverses, but also its triumphs.

Contrary to NN, the stylistic ideals of BN have the older Da forms of the Bible and bureaucratic writing as the upper layer, with folk speech as the

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model of a lower, but more comfortable style. The popularity of Sw films and recordings, as well as the viewing of Sw TV, has promoted a certain Sw influence on the vocabulary (Vinje 1972). But here as elsewhere, the Eng influence is dominant, with words like *design* and *designer, tips* and *tipping* (lottery), *story* and *paperback* in the most surprising places. Some words have been reshaped into loan translations or given special Norwegian forms, like *tenåring* 'teenager', *marketsføring* 'marketing', *opptrapping* 'escalation', *spottlys* 'spotlight' etc. There is clearly a certain snob value in English words, and Nw equivalents sometimes have a hard time getting established. With the coming of supermarkets and shopping centers, the English words were at first accepted everywhere. Later some of them have been replaced by *kjøpesenter, butikksentrum* and the like. So far there is no adequate study of the English impact since WW II.

In cooperation with NN scholars, work on a comprehensive Nw literary-historical dictionary is proceeding at the Norsk Leksikografisk Institutt in Oslo. Sociolinguistic investigations of Oslo speech (TAUS) have been undertaken, and there is a lively linguistic milieu in which both theoretical and applied language problems are receiving the attention of a new generation. Here, as in Sweden, there is active concern over the need to make "official-ese" language simpler and more comprehensible to the everyday citizen.

7.7   Nordic Unity

In spite of the many differences that have grown up in Scandinavia over the past thousand years or so, the unity remains more conspicuous than the differences. The central or mainland languages function more as dialects of one language than as totally distinct languages. As indicated earlier (1.9), the standard, urbanized languages have unified usage within each country, and all have been under similar influences from abroad. The marginal countries in east and west vacillate between learning another Nordic language or English. The key to mutual understanding is a widespread passive knowledge, such as everyone acquires in contact with other dialects of one's own language. Another is the equally natural adaptation to one's speech partners that is also needful in interdialectal communication.

The conscious language planning efforts, especially since World War II, have now culminated in the Scandinavian Language Secretariat. They are less likely to be effective on a popular level than the personal contacts resulting from travel and the exchange of teachers, classes, and media events. Scandinavia is a part of the modern world, blanketed with TV and pop culture, as close

to the troubles and triumphs of that world as the nearest satellite. The languages will continue to reflect these developments even more faithfully in the future than in the past. The Vikings of today are still on the move.

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Appendix 1

Table of phonetic symbols

Below are listed, in roughly alphabetic order, the vocalic, consonantal, and other symbols used to distinguish sounds from their traditional spellings. They are based on the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), with modifications. Key words are given from other languages, only as approximations to assist the nontechnical reader. For the technical reader some articulatory descriptions are included, but it should be understood that this is not a narrow, but a broad transcription, so that each symbol may include a rather wide range of values. For the most part they will be phonemic, but since no effort has been made to assure this in each case, we prefer to use square brackets to enclose the symbols.

Vowels
(Unround unless otherwise stated)

[a] low central: Ger V*a*ter; Eng f*a*ther

[ɑ] low back: Sw Nw b*a*d, h*a*r

[e] mid front: Ger l*e*sen; Fr *é*té

[ɛ] lowered mid front: Eng l*e*st; Ger b*e*sser; Fr *ê*tre

[i] high front: Eng b*ee*t; Ger b*ie*ten

[I] lowered high front: Eng b*i*t, s*i*ng; Ic v*i*t, v*i*st

[o] mid back round: Ger b*o*t; Eng b*oa*t; Sw Nw b*å*t

[ω] high back overround: Sw Nw b*o*t, g*o*d

[u] high back round: Ger g*u*t; Ic h*ú*s; Eng b*oo*t

[ʉ] high central overround: Nw Sw d*u*, h*u*s, *u*t

[U] lowered high back: Eng g*oo*d, b*u*ll; Sw j*u*st

[y] high front round: Ger G*ü*te; Fr l*u*ne; Sw Nw b*y*ta/b*y*tte

[Y] lowered high front round: Ic s*u*ður, m*u*n

[æ] low front: Eng b*a*ss, c*a*t

[φ] mid front round: Ger l*ö*sen, Fr. p*eu*

[œ] lowered mid front round: Fr fl*eu*r, s*œu*r; Sw h*ö*ra

[å] low back round: Ger G*o*tt, Brit. Eng g*o*t; Eng *o*re, l*a*w

[ə] mid central: Eng sof*a*, mopp*e*t; Ger gut*e*

Consonants

[b d f g h k m n p s t v w z] as in English

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[b̥ d̥ g̥] voiceless unaspirated stops (cf. Fr *p t k*)

[ḍ ḷ ṇ ṣ t̩] retroflex (with tongue tip retracted): Nw Sw *rd rl rn rs rt*

[d̡ g̡ k̡ l̡ n̡ s̡ t̡] Palatalized (with a j-like quality, produced by pressing tongue against palate)

[b] voiced (vd.) bilabial spirant: Sp. ha*b*er

[ç] voiceless (vl.) palatal spirant: Ger i*ch*; cf. Eng *h*ue: Nw *kj*ær

[ð] vd. interdental spirant: Eng *th*is, ei*th*er, brea*th*e

[φ] vl. bilabial spirant: PSc *f*

[ɣ] vd. velar spirant: Ger Ta*g*e

[j] vd. palatal glide : Eng *y*es, *y*ou; Ger *j*ener

[l] vd. dental lateral ('light'): Ger *l*esen, woh*l*; Eng *l*east

[ɫ] vd. alveolar lateral ('dark'): Eng wa*ll*, wi*ll*, a*l*tar

[ɽ] vd. flapped cacuminal glide: Nw Sw dialects: da*l*, jo*rd*

[ŋ] vd. velar nasal: Eng ri*ng*, si*nk*

[r] vd. apical trill: Ital *r*osso

[ř] vd. palatal spirant: Cz Dvořak

[R] vd. uvular trill (or scrape): Ger wa*r*; Fr *r*a*r*e; Da *r*a*r*

[š] vl. hushing spirant: Eng *sh*oe, na*ti*on; Nw *sj*ø/ Sw *sj*ö

[þ] vl. interdental spirant: Eng *th*in, e*th*er, brea*th*

[x] vl. velar spirant : Ger a*ch*, Bu*ch*

[ž] vd. hushing spirant: Eng rou*g*e, vi*s*ion

Note: in CSc forms A and R stand for particular runes (*Ār and *ȳR, respectively).

Other Markers

[:] after vowels: length (also marked by a macron above and by a stress mark after: [a: ā a']: ON by acute accent: *á*.

[·] can also be used after consonants, e.g. Nw *sitte* [sit:ə]; but here usually by doubling consonant: [sittə].

['] (primary) stress, placed after vowel or consonant affected; also implies cooccurrent accent 1 (simple tone) in dialects that have a distinction of word tones.

['] (primary) stress, placed as the preceding; also implies co-occurrent accent 2 (complex tone)

[ˆ] circumflex tone, placed over vowel

[ʔ/'] (alternatively) glottalization (glottal catch) after vowel or consonant affected

[ˌ] secondary stress, placed after vowel or consonant affected

* reconstructed, hypothetical forms

∅ zero morpheme, e.g. plural of *sheep:* -∅ (also written −)

o placed under a vd. sound to show that it is unvoiced

- juncture between parts of a compound (only when needed)

, under a consonant to show it is syllabic

> becomes (of historical changes)

/ or (between alternatives)

/_ X in the position before X; /X _ in the position after X

(1), (2)... rules for vowel changes

(C1), (C2)... rules for consonant changes

[˜] (over vowels) nasalizaton

[̯] (under vowels) non-syllabic glide [i̯, u̯] = [j, w]

Appendix 2

Table of Abbreviations

A	adjective	intrans.	intransitive
acc.	accusative	L	liquid
adj.	adjective	LG	Low German
Asp	aspiration	lw(s)	loanword(s)
Av	adverb	M	modifier
BN	Bokmål Norwegian	m./masc.	masculine
C	consonant; conjunction	MLG	Middle Low German
c.	circa; common (g.)	Mod	Modern
ch.	chapter	ModSc	Modern Scandinavian
comp.	comparative	ms.	manuscript
CSc	Common Scandinavian	MSc	Middle Scandinavian
Da	Danish	N	noun; number
dat.	dative	n./neut.	neuter
def.	definite	NGmc	North Germanic
EGmc	East Germanic	NN	Nynorsk Norwegian
Eng	English	nom.	nominative
ENw	East Norwegian	NP	noun phrase
ESc	East Scandinavian	NSw	North Swedish
ESw	East Swedish	Nw	Norwegian
f./fem.	feminine	O	object
Fa	Faroese	O_d	direct object
FiSw	Finland Swedish	ODa	Old Danish
Fr	French	OE	Old English
FT	Falk and Torp (see bibl.)	OESc	Old East Scandinavian
g.	gender	O_i	indirect object
Gbr	Gudbrandsdalen	OIc	Old Icelandic
gen.	genitive	ON	Old Norse
Ger	German	ONw	Old Norwegian
Gmc	Germanic	OSw	Old Swedish
H	head	OWSc	Old West Scandinavian
Ic	Icelandic	p./pers.	person
IE	Indo-European	perf.	perfect
imper.	imperative	PGmc	Proto-Germanic
impers.	impersonal	pl./plur.	plural
indef.	indefinite	plup.	pluperfect
indic.	indicative	PN	predicate noun
inf.	infinitive	pos.	positive

pp.	perfect participle	superl.	superlative
pres.	present	Sw	Swedish
pres. part.	present participle	SWNw	Southwest Norwegian
pret.	preterite	trans.	transitive
pron.	pronoun	TrNw	Trønder Norwegian
PSc	Proto-Scandinavian	uml	umlaut
refl.	reflexive	V	verb; vowel
rel.	relative	vd	voiced
S	subject	V_f	finite verb
Sc/Scand	Scandinavian	V_{aux}	auxiliary verb
Sfj	Sunnfjord	vl	voiceless
sg./sing.	singular	VP	verb phrase
Sn.	Snorri (see bibl.)	WGmc	West Germanic
SSw	South Swedish	WNw	West Norwegian
subj.	subjunctive	WSc	West Scandinavian

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Note: *æ*/*ä* *ø*/*ö* *å* are alphabetized as *ae, oe, aa,* respectively.

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Scandinavian
Language Structures
A Comparative Historical Survey

Einar Haugen

The Scandinavian languages constitute the northern branch of the Germanic family of languages; the earliest written evidences of any Germanic language are found in the runic inscriptions of Scandinavia, dating back to 200 A.D. Here Einar Haugen provides a concentrated survey of the development of the Scandinavian languages from earliest Proto-Scandinavian down to the six modern standard languages: Icelandic, Faroese, Norwegian (nynorsk), Norwegian (bokmål), Danish, and Swedish.

In an introductory chapter Haugen presents an overview of the external history of the languages, explaining why the Nordic area has remained fragmented and has not produced a single, unified Scandinavian language. In subsequent chapters he deals with each of the major language structures rather than with periods. This is the first book in any language to provide a comparative survey of the historical development of all major linguistic structures in the Scandinavian languages, and as such it will be valued by teachers and students in Scandinavian linguistics and language study as well as by scholars in the Germanic languages and general linguistics.

Einar Haugen is V. S. Thomas Professor of Scandinavian and Linguistics, emeritus, at Harvard University. He is the author of many books on the Scandinavian languages and literature including, most recently, *The Scandinavian Languages: An Introduction to Their History* and *Ibsen's Drama: Author to Audience* (Minnesota).